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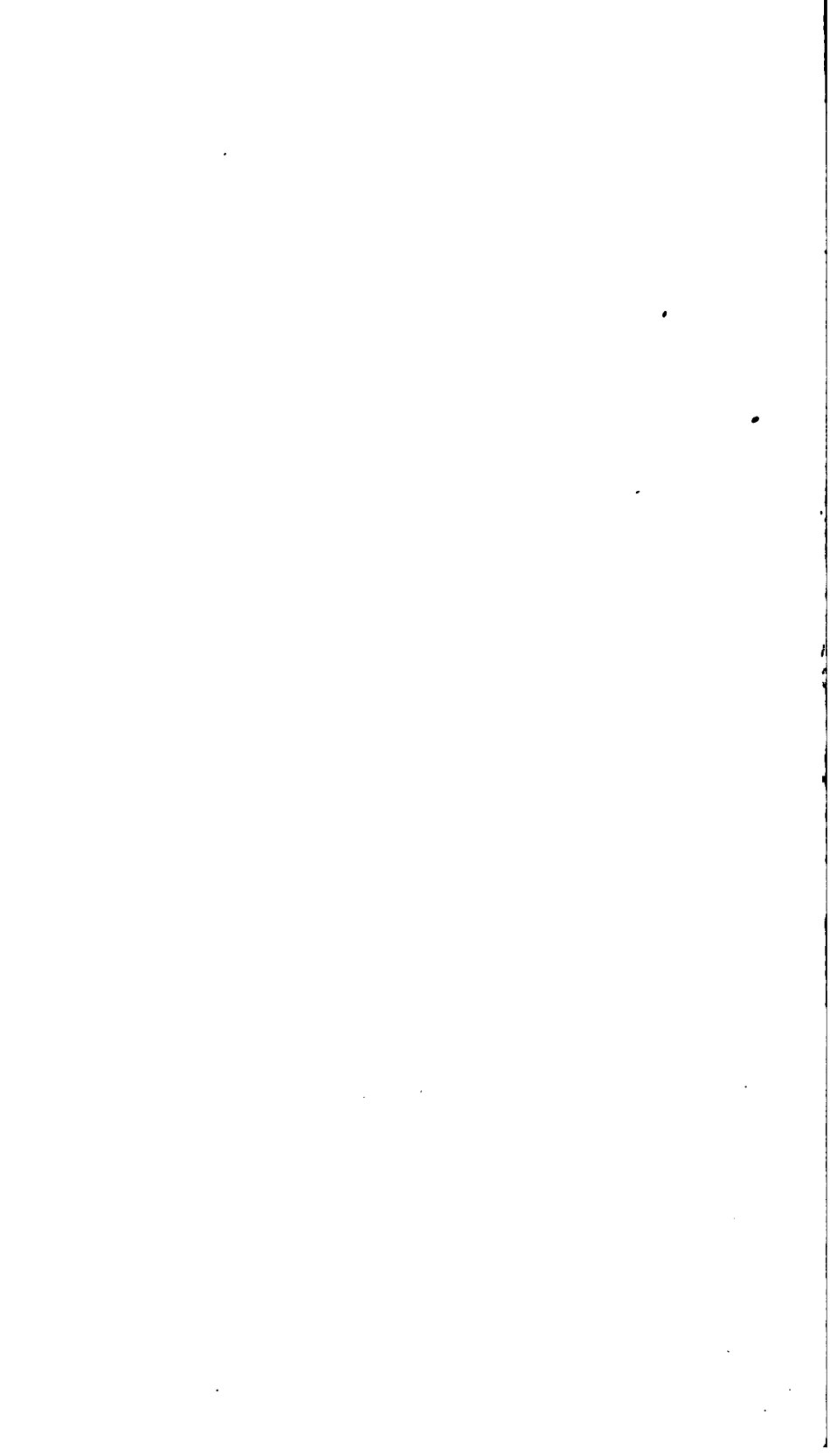
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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA,

VOL. II,



PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY, LEA & CAREY—CHESNUT STREET.

1827.

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*Gift of  
Miss E. H. Smith  
Cambridge*

SKERRETT—NINTH STREET,  
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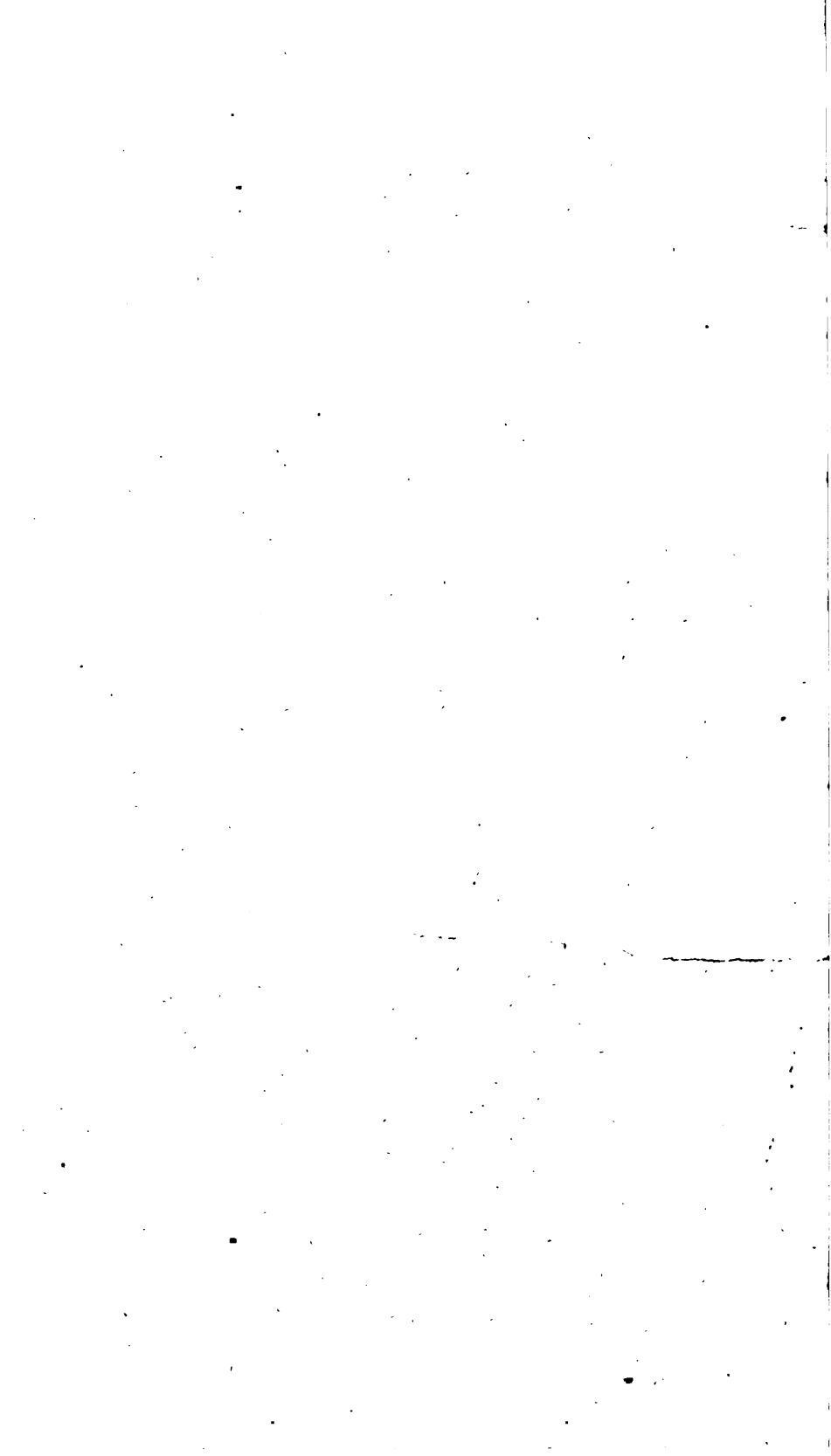
## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE Committee of Publication now present to their associates of the Society and to the public, the first part of a Second Volume of Historical Memoirs. They believe that its contents will be found to possess interest, and to be well deserving a perusal. Several articles intended for the present publication have been unavoidably deferred, papers communicated at an earlier date claiming a preference: among these should be mentioned Mr. Conyngham's History of Cumberland County, Mr. Emlen's Notes of Indian Speeches, and Mr. Watson's Extracts from his History of Philadelphia.

The Society have lately received a number of interesting communications, and have at this time in their hands, materials enough to complete the second volume, as soon as public patronage shall appear sufficient to justify them in putting it to press.

*Nov. 23d, 1827.*



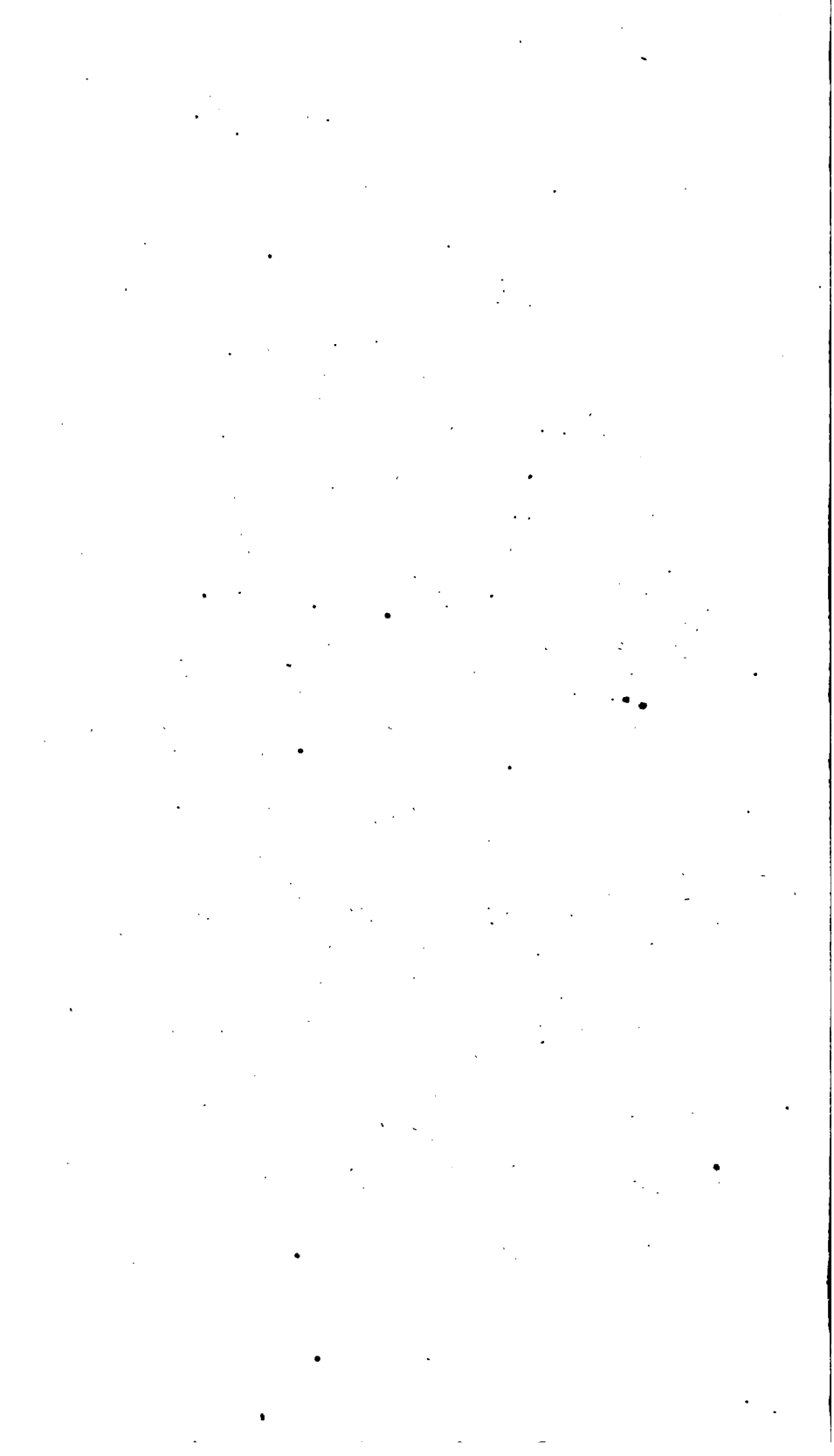
At a special meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held January 1st, 1887, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to ROBERTS VAUX, Esq. for his interesting and instructive discourse pronounced this day, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

From the Minutes,

T. M. PETTIT,  
*Recording Sec'ry.*





**ANNIVERSARY**  
**DISCOURSE**  
**DELIVERED BEFORE**  
**THE**  
**HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
**OF THE**  
**STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,**  
**ON**  
**JANUARY 1, 1827.**

**BY ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.**

**ONE OF THE VICE PRESIDENTS.**



## ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE, &c.

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*Gentlemen of the Historical Society,*

YOUR generous estimate of my industry, assigned to me a duty, which, with unaffected solicitude and distrust of my qualifications, I come before you to perform.

My venerable and learned predecessor, to whose inaugural address we listened with so much instruction and pleasure about a year ago, left untouched by a master's hand, few, if any topics, which would be selected for a discourse on an occasion like the present.

More recently another acute inquirer\* has collected numerous facts of great interest and value concerning primitive Pennsylvania, which adorned with the resources of his gifted and polished mind, have been submitted to our fellow citizens.

Thus ably anticipated in regard to most of the brilliant passages which gave lustre to our early annals, I can only ask your indulgence whilst I confine myself to an exposition in some detail, of a portion of our history, which, though less captivating, appears to me to be eminently worthy of respect and commemoration.

\* Thomas I. Wharton's Annual address before the Penn Society, 1826.

The exalted sense of moral duty—the Christian benevolence, and other virtues that were displayed in the character and conduct of the Founder toward the Indian natives, deserved and have secured for that illustrious man, an imperishable renown. His great mind was uniformly influenced in his intercourse with the aborigines by those immutable principles of justice, which every where, and for all purposes must be regarded as fundamental, if human exertions are to be crowned with noble and permanent results.\*

Long before Penn beheld his intended resting place, on the far distant shores of the Atlantic, he seems to have contemplated in the wide range of an enlightened philanthropy, that he might be instrumental to improve the condition of the natives; as

\* It has recently been suggested, that the honourable purchase of the land from the Indians by Penn, on his first arrival in the province, is not entitled to the character of originality, and measure of praise heretofore awarded in that respect to the Founder of Pennsylvania. A full inquiry into the pretensions of those who colonized other sections of the North American continent, to an equality with the uniformly, just, and peaceable measures of Penn, has not in the least affected his claim to the honour so long conferred upon him. It is not perhaps generally known, that New Hampshire has had the credit for a purchase from the Indians in 1629. [Vide Appendix to Belknap's Hist. vol. 1, p. 289.] A late investigation, however, has shown that the deed there given by the historian, was a *forgery*, fabricated for the purpose of deciding a tedious litigation between the inhabitants of the then province, and the claimants under Mason. [Vide Winthrop's Hist. of N. England, edited by Savage, vol. 1, p. 405-424.]

in his petition to Charles the second, for a grant of land on the American Continent, he declares one of his objects in seeking to go there, to be, "*The glory of God, by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures to the kingdom of Christ.*"

The first outline of a constitution for those who intended to accompany the patriarchal chief to the wilderness, was prepared and adopted at London in 1681. It was modestly denominated "*certain conditions or concessions,*" but exhibits some striking proofs of intellectual power, and the original determinations of his judgment concerning the mode of treatment, which was to be pursued toward the Indians. It thus provided in the 13th, 14th, and 15th sections. "No man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed affront or wrong any Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter, and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, he shall not be his own judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the governor or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the injured planter. All differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by twelve men; that is, by six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burn-

“ings and mischiefs,” and that “the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.”

These noble aspirations, and wise resolutions, never forsook the mind of Penn, and all that could be taught by precept and by example, was taught and shown by this apostle of Christianity and morals, to his unenlightened brethren, to produce the great and good ends which he so ardently desired for them.

His coming, and the founding of his commonwealth—the great principles of religious and civil freedom which he promulgated, and established in the frame of government, and the various other distinguished acts which unquestionably place him on the loftiest eminence as a lawgiver, and benefactor of mankind, are familiar to you all.

The territory which he acquired had, however, to a certain extent, and for many years previously to his accession, been occupied by the Swedes and Dutch, and some intercourse had taken place between the tribes upon the Delaware, and the white inhabitants of the northern colonies, who, even at that early period, were given to the itinerant propensities in quest of gain, which distinguish not a few of their descendants to the present day.

The most formidable evil visited upon the Indians, and flowing from this connection with the Europeans, was the introduction of *ardent spirits*.

That terrible agent, the abuse of which dethrones the reason, blasts the fairest promise of intellectual power and cultivation, and gives loose to the worst tempers of mankind, even when claiming to be the subjects of civilized refinement and Christian control, did not fail to ensnare the unreflecting Indian, and feeding the fiercer passions of his unsubdued nature, fitted him for every atrocity, and made him the prey of every cruel artifice. The indulgence in the use of inebriating draughts had, moreover, the effect to introduce physical maladies, before unknown among them, and to subject them to outrage and wrong in the disposal of their lands and commodities; in short, that liquid fire threatened with swift destruction to sweep them from the face of the earth.

To protect the natives from such fearful and fatal consequences, the wise and virtuous lawgiver of Pennsylvania, saw, on his arrival, the necessity of interposing his authority to correct mischiefs which had existed antecedent to his possession of the province; he therefore, in 1682, thus declared and enacted, that "Whereas, divers persons, as English, Dutch, Swedes, &c. have been wont to sell to the Indians rum and brandy, and such like distilled spirits, though they know the said Indians are not able to govern themselves in the use thereof, but do commonly drink of it to such excess as makes them sometimes to destroy one another, and grievously annoy and disquiet the people of this province, and peradventure those of neighbouring governments, whereby they may make the poor na-



“tives worse, and not better for coming among them,  
“which is an heinous offence to God, and a reproach  
“to the blessed name of Christ and his holy religion.  
“It is therefore enacted, that no person within this  
“province, do from henceforth presume to sell or  
“exchange any rum or brandy, or any strong liquors,  
“at any time, to any Indian within this province,  
“and if any one shall offend therein, the person  
“so convicted shall for every such offence pay five  
“pounds.”

Our virtuous forefathers who shared with Penn the toils and privations inseparable even from their peaceful conquest of the wilderness, felt with him a debt of gratitude for the kindness extended toward them by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil. They regarded it as a duty themselves, and enforced the obligation upon their descendants, to acknowledge, and if possible to extinguish that debt, by generous recompense of good will to the Indian race, through all future time. Instances of elevation of sentiment little to have been expected from the untutored sons of the forest—manifestations of sympathy worthy of the most refined minds, and deeds of charity performed by the natives to mitigate the sufferings of some of the first emigrants are well authenticated, and fruitful of the tenderest emotion. Not to have remembered these magnanimous traits of their character, and cherished for the authors of such liberality the strongest sense of the favours conferred, would indeed have been to place the civilized far below the savage man. But our ancestors did not for-

get the kindnesses of the friendly tribes who dwell upon the soil which we now inhabit, and who bade them welcome to this land of promise.

In support of this position it is my design to furnish such testimony as it has been in my power to collect, by some research into the subject.

To rescue the natives from the destructive vice of intemperance, seems to have been a cardinal concern from the earliest time, and the religious Society of Friends used every effort to prevent the reproach and consequences of that evil from being charged upon them; for notwithstanding the prompt and discreet act of legislation by the proprietor, already noticed, and which was binding upon every inhabitant of the province, it appears that this formidable grievance claimed the care of their annual meeting in 1685. "This meeting," say they, "doth unanimously agree and give as their judgment, that it is not consistent with the honour of truth, for any that make profession thereof, to sell rum or other strong liquors to the Indians." In 1687, the substance of the preceding recommendation was issued by the same body, with this energetic addition; "and for the more effectually preventing this evil practice as aforesaid, we advise that this our testimony be entered in every monthly meeting book, and that every friend belonging to the said meeting do subscribe the same."

The most considerate regard for the welfare of their Indian neighbours, was uniformly manifested by that religious society, then forming a majority of

the European population, and they made it a point of conscience, frequently in their annual assemblies, to recount and record their sense of the offices of friendship which they experienced from the natives, as imperative reasons why they were required to cultivate relations of the purest justice and good will, with the aboriginal sons of the soil.

It would have been happy for the Indian race, if similar dispositions had influenced all the emigrants to Pennsylvania. This, however, was not the case, nor was it reasonable to suppose, that the generous purposes of the first settlers could be long without alloy, when the foundation of the government was laid so broad, as to afford room for all, who might resort to the province. The novelty of its character invited many adventurers, who, induced by motives of profit at any sacrifice, came to accomplish their unrighteous ends by the impunity of toleration. Of this class not a few polluted the land which had been consecrated to Justice, and Mercy, and Peace. But the evil tempers exhibited by those who sought their own aggrandisement at the cost of every virtuous principle, served to animate and enlarge the minds of others to perform acts worthy of their high calling, and thus present in bold relief the genuine and consistent character of the men, who were the founders and architects of the honourable fame of primitive Pennsylvania.

It need not be concealed, and it cannot be denied, that the fair and serene morning, which dawned so full of hope and promise upon our adventurous an-

cestors, was too soon overcast. Many were the wrongs inflicted on the primeval inhabitants, by individuals who abused the privileges so freely and universally guaranteed in the mild structure of the government, which was intended not as a protection to the oppressor, but as a sanctuary for the oppressed of every condition and clime.

The discontents which were excited among the Indians, through the means employed by the unprincipled persons to whom I have alluded, induced much solicitude in the mind of Penn and his friends, who assiduously exerted their authority and influence in the legislature, and elsewhere, to punish and prevent trespasses upon the acknowledged rights of the natives. The paternal care and personal oversight of the Founder, which had contributed so essentially to the best interests of all the inhabitants of the province, was unexpectedly terminated in 1701, when circumstances demanded the presence of William Penn in England. This was a most painful separation for the shepherd and his flock, as the former retired to leave those who were allied to him by the strongest ties of affection, exposed to accumulating difficulties and dangers, on every hand. He went—but in the inscrutable economy of Divine Providence, to return no more, to his beloved people and country in the western hemisphere.

Although the absence of the proprietary was severely felt by those who united with him for the wholesome administration of the government, and

necessarily interrupted the completion of some judicious improvements in its affairs, it did not abate their efforts to uphold the standard of peace and righteousness. To conciliate the confidence and respect of the Indians, and meliorate their condition, remained to be prominent objects of their attention. William Penn himself had furnished a bright example of devotion to the best interests of those people, not only in his justice toward them, and by imparting advice when they met him in council at Philadelphia, but also by visiting them in their towns in distant parts of the province, an office of kindness to which he felt himself called, in his character of a minister of the gospel.

Many of his cotemporaries, influenced by the same pure motives, often fulfilled similar duties by going to the tribes in the interior, far from the confines of civilization. A visit of this kind was made in 1705, to the Seneca and Shawanese Indians, who then occupied the borders of the river Susquehanna, by the pious and amiable Thomas Chalkley. Some notes of what occurred whilst on this Christian errand have been preserved, which show that he was received with the greatest cordiality and hospitality by the natives, many of whom were deeply affected by his discourses. It is related that when Chalkley and his companions were about to part from the assembled Indians, an ancient queen, called Ojuncho, who is represented to have been a person of distinction, and who spoke frequently in their councils, thus addressed the venerable minister of peace,—

*"I look upon your coming as more than natural,—  
"you came not to buy, and sell, and get gain, but  
"for our good—we desire the great spirit to keep  
"you from harm on your journey—and we bid you  
"farewell."* The discernment, and kind feeling  
which dictated this brief but comprehensive speech,  
made a strong impression upon the minds of those  
who heard it, and led to inquiries of the Indians  
concerning the influence and authority which the  
queen had acquired among them, as it was not their  
custom thus to respect females, to which one of the  
chiefs answered, *"it is because some women are  
"wiser than some men."*

During the short administration of governor Hamilton, who was the first deputy after the return of the Founder to England, the government does not appear to have adopted any measures relative to the Indians; but, during the rule of his immediate successor, governor Evans, notice is taken in severe terms of certain traders who had gone into their country, and behaved in the most reprehensible manner. The governor himself was charged with unwarrantable conduct toward the natives during a visit he made to them in 1707, at Conestogoe, for which and other misdemeanors the assembly preferred such representations to William Penn, by three commissioners sent expressly for that purpose to London, as resulted in his dismissal from office, and the appointment of governor Gookin to succeed him.

In 1711, when a requisition was made by queen

Anne for aid from the northern colonies in reference to the expedition against Canada, an objection to a grant of money for such purposes necessarily arose in the minds of that part of the assembly of Pennsylvania who were conscientiously opposed to war, and they asserted as a reason why they should be excused from a tax, that the province had contributed, and was then expending large sums of money for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, which they declared to be of the greatest importance, not only to Pennsylvania, but to all the neighbouring governments. This fact is in proof of the untiring labours of at least a portion of those in authority at that period, to maintain amicable relations with the natives.

That the Indians themselves were sensible of the pacific dispositions and good designs of those who sought their real happiness, and consequently that of the white inhabitants of the province, is demonstrable from their own declarations. A conference was held at Philadelphia in 1715, and attended by a large number of Delawares; on that occasion, Sassoonan, one of their chiefs, said,—

“The calumet, which we carried to all the nations, we have now brought here;—it is a sure bond of peace amongst them, and between us and you;—we desire, by holding up our hands, that the God of heaven may witness, that there may be a firm peace between you and us forever. We heard of some murmurs among some of our people, and to prevent any trouble we come to renew

“our former bond of friendship. When William Penn first came, he made a clear, and open road, all the way to the Indians; we desire the same may be kept open, that all obstructions may be removed, of which, on our side, we will take care. Let the peace be so firm, that you and us, joined hand in hand, even if the greatest tree falls, it shall not divide us. As our fathers have been in peace, so let us, and our children as they come into the world hereafter, be in peace, that it may be continued from generation to generation, forever.”

Such were the noble sentiments, the grateful recollections, and the honourable desires, of that high-minded race; and the promulgation of them is the more remarkable, because, before the council terminated, the same chief uttered the complaint of his nation, in this fearless and sarcastic strain: “I will now speak of the trade between you and us. It has been like a house with two doors, one for us, and one for the English, but the goods were placed in the dark, so that we did not know how we were dealt with. We want the terms of trade settled, so that we may no longer be in danger of being cheated. We are often imposed upon by the lightness of your money. You certainly know the value of ours. I wish this evil put out of the way.”

In 1717, Sir William Keith succeeded governor Gookin, and proposed some essential changes in the conduct of affairs, that had from the beginning dis-



tinguished the province. Among them, and it cannot be too often mentioned to be condemned, was the repeal of the most merciful penal code the world had ever before known. He also suggested the institution of a paper currency, and of consequence encouraged a speculative spirit, which is always rife in the distemper created by paper credit. These attempts at innovation, alarmed the friends and adherents of the proprietor, and induced much discussion between Keith and the representatives of the people, in the early part of his administration. Whilst these cares and difficulties occupied the attention of the reflecting part of the inhabitants, an overwhelming affliction came upon them, by the death of William Penn. Connections were then rent asunder, which had united men under circumstances before, without a parallel in the history of human affairs, and which could not be restored by any earthly power. Whilst suffering deeply from the irreparable loss which the province had thus experienced, intelligence respecting the native tribes, of a very serious nature, reached the executive. A body of southern Indians had appeared in hostile array against the Five Nations, and had actually invaded the settlements on the Susquehanna. Now for the first time since the foundation of the colony, were its peaceful inhabitants threatened with the horrors of war, and it may readily be conceived what anxiety the prospect of such a calamity awakened. The assembly urged governor Keith to pursue measures which would secure tranquillity between

the white people, and their Indian neighbours, as well as to use his endeavours to put an end to the differences existing between the tribes, who were about to begin a bloody conflict, assuring him that for the accomplishment of these good ends, the legislature would vote the most liberal supplies. The governor accordingly repaired to Virginia, and made satisfactory arrangements with the authorities of that government, to restrain the Potomac Indians, and after his return, held a treaty at Conestogoe, with deputies of the Five Nations. That interview took place in 1721, and the Indians gave an account of the causes which brought about their difficulties. One of the chiefs said, "that all their disorders arose from the use of rum, which took away their sense, and memory—that they had no such liquor among themselves, and were hurt with what the white people brought among them." He spoke in the most affectionate terms of William Penn, denominating him, "*The great and good Onas*," and used this figurative language in concluding his remarks. "The Five Nations faithfully remember all their ancient treaties, and now desire that the chain of Friendship, may be made so strong, as that none of the links can ever be broken; but as a chain may become rusty, we desire it may now be so well cleaned, as to remain brighter and stronger than ever it was before." The conference was brought to a favourable issue, furnishing another instance of the happy effects, which flowed from a kind treatment of the natives.

The repose which these measures had produced, was not of long duration, for in the next year a circumstance occurred, more unhappy than any which had before transpired. An Indian was barbarously killed in the vicinity of Conestogoe, by a white man. This was the first blood wantonly spilled by the hand of a European upon the soil of Pennsylvania, of which there was any record from its foundation. An outrage of so fearful an import, and likely to be followed by speedy retaliation, to what extent no one could foretell, greatly alarmed the friends of order and peace, who immediately adopted measures to compose the Indians, and secure the due administration of justice, upon the author of such cruelty. James Logan and John French, two influential members of the council, forthwith proceeded to the scene of trouble, and assured the Indians of the abhorrence in which the government held the foul deed that had been perpetrated; they left no means unemployed to heal the wound that had been inflicted on their long friendship, and by causing the offender to be arrested, satisfied the relatives of the deceased person, that the law should be rigidly enforced. On the return of the commissioners a full statement of the affair was submitted to the assembly. That body seem to have regarded the condition of things as very serious and critical, and was not without gloomy anticipations, in regard to the future security of the province. An address was sent to the governor, which presented a concise exposition of the sentiments of the assembly on the afflicting oc-

casion—bringing to his notice the conduct of the Founder, and his associates towards the Indians, pressed the necessity of maintaining the ancient friendship—recommended the execution of strict justice—represented the frequent complaints of the natives, that strong liquors were carried and sold among them by the traders, &c.—concluding with these words. “ At the relation of the dismal circumstances, we were filled with horror and surprise, that after so long continuance of the peace first settled by the honourable proprietary William Penn with the Indians, any breach should be now made by those under the name of Christians, to the reproach of that name, and danger of the safety and peace, both of this province and others.”

This impressive communication led to an immediate conference with the Chiefs of the Five Nations at Albany, when they were so fully satisfied of the sincerity of the government of Pennsylvania to do them justice, and prevent or punish all such abuses in future, that, remarkable as it may seem, the Indians interceded for the murderer, and the difficulty was amicably settled.

The assembly regardful of its duty, and conforming to the intimation given to the governor, in the address before noticed, passed at the next session; *“ An act to prohibit the selling of rum, and other strong liquors, to the Indians, and to prevent abuses that may happen thereby.”*

Individuals of the Society of Friends, who were members of the legislature, were mainly instrumen-

tal in devising and giving effect to the public measures necessary on an occasion of so much moment to the peace of the country; and the society as such, availed itself of the earliest opportunity, to declare its sense of what was due to the Indians, as well as to guard its members from any connection with causes from which manifestly flowed so much evil to the natives, and mischief to the province.

I cannot refrain from quoting the language employed at their annual assembly next ensuing the melancholy event that has been noticed. "When," (say they,) "way was made for our worthy friends, the proprietors and owners of lands in this province, to make their first settlements, it pleased the *Almighty God*, by his overruling providence, to influence the native Indians, so as to make them very helpful and serviceable to those early settlers, before they could raise stocks or provisions to sustain themselves and families. And it being soon observed, that those people, when indulging in the use of strong liquors, set no bounds to themselves, but were apt to abuse and destroy one another, there came a religious care and concern upon friends, both in their meetings and legislature, to prevent those abuses. Nevertheless some people preferring their lucre, before the common good, continued in this evil practice, so that our yearly meeting in 1687, testified that the practice of selling rum, or other strong liquors, to the Indians, directly or indirectly, or exchanging the same for any goods or merchandize with them is

“ displeasing to the *Lord*, a dishonour to truth, and  
“ a grief to all good people. And although this tes-  
“ timony hath been since renewed by several yearly  
“ meetings, it is yet notorious, that the same hath  
“ not been duly observed by some persons, and  
“ therefore it hath become the weighty concern of  
“ this meeting, earnestly to recommend the said tes-  
“ timony to the strict observance of all friends, and  
“ where any under our profession shall act contrary  
“ thereunto, let them be speedily dealt with, and  
“ censured for such their evil practice.”

From a root so deleterious as that which gave rise to this rebuke and warning, might be expected to spring a multitude of wrongs, and it really seems to have been the bane of the aborigines. It was on that part of the American continent, called New England, that the barbarous practice of enslaving them had its origin.\* It was the theatre of many sorrows for that injured race. As far back as 1614, an instance of this cruel kind of outrage upon the persons and rights of the natives took place. A no-

\* Among the first laws of the New England colonists it was provided, “ *that none should be bought or sold for slaves, but those who are taken in war, or made such by authority.*” The frequent wars which took place between the settlers and natives, through a long course of years, must often have supplied the colonists with prisoners, who by law became slaves, and were disposed of as such. After a battle, which occurred in the summer of the year 1637, according to Neal, their historian, about two hundred Indian prisoners fell into the hands of the colonists, and suffered the legal consequences of captivity.

torious trader in those parts, one Hunt, seems to have been more conspicuous and daring, than most of the adventurers of that early period. On a certain occasion, after having made some smart bargains in his traffic with the natives, he enticed about thirty of those deluded beings on board his vessel, secured them under the hatches, transported them to Malaga, and sold them to the Spaniards.\*

Some individuals thus enslaved, appear to have been introduced into Pennsylvania about 1722, but from what causes, or by whom retained in bondage, does not appear. Acts of that kind were assuredly in violation of the spirit of the laws and the public faith, and yet I do not discover any other notice of the subject than that taken of it by the annual meeting of Friends, held at Philadelphia in that year. After expressing many kind sentiments concerning the Indians, they declare, *“that to avoid giving them discontent, the members of their society shall not buy or sell Indian slaves.”*

The population of the province now began to be more mixed by the influx of settlers, not only from Europe, but the neighbouring colonies, whose sentiments and habits were alien from the principles and practice of the first emigrants, and thus were sown the seeds of disaffection, which afterwards produced serious difficulties with the Indians. In 1727, the deputies of the Five Nations, complained at a council held with governor Gordon, of the un-

\* Vide Neal's History of New England, London edition, 1747.

fair dealing and brutal conduct of the traders, who had greatly increased in their country. Then for the first time they expressed their fears at the erection of forts by the English and French within their acknowledged territory, and desired that the white people should not be permitted to reside beyond certain points, which they designated. In the following year, at a conference in Philadelphia, further discontents were manifested, and although the governor was present, and according to the ceremony at such interviews, should have been addressed by the Indian chief, it appears that *Sassoonan* approached James Logan, their well-known and constant friend, and said, "I am grown old, and am troubled to see the Christians settle on lands that the Indians never were paid for. I am now old, and must soon die. My children will wonder to see all their father's land gone without receiving any thing for it. The Christians are settling very near to us, and we shall soon have no place of our own left to live upon. This may occasion a difference between my children and yours, and I wish to prevent any misunderstanding that may happen." This affecting appeal produced an examination of the deeds given at several of the early treaties for the purchase of their land, in order to ascertain the justness of the charge of the ancient chief, from which it appeared, that encroachments had been made, though not by any direct authority of the proprietaries. A portion of the spirit of justice and peace, which was so eminently



displayed in the transactions of the Founder with the natives, still influenced the legislature of the province, and this occasion was embraced to urge the governor to pursue measures for the removal of the causes which dissatisfied the Indians.

In 1732, Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries, arrived from England. His presence was hailed with joy by such of the inhabitants as felt a deep interest in the honour and welfare of the province, because they hoped he might contribute to allay the feverish mood which had arisen from various sources, but more especially those which threatened to impair the harmony, that, from the days of his illustrious father, had been preserved between themselves and the natives. Several important questions were then discussed, and among others, the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, a survey of which was made and confirmed by the parties interested. The proprietor had several meetings with the Indians, in order to arrange their land affairs, which, however, did not result to their satisfaction. He also, with a view to raise money, devised a *lottery* for the disposal of one hundred thousand acres of land. This was an original attempt to introduce legalized gambling into Pennsylvania, and though the mischievous plan was frustrated, the mere proposition, seriously, and with good reason, impaired the confidence which some of the people of the province had been wont to repose in the proprietary.

Part of the land selected for prizes in the con-

templated raffle, lay within the region claimed by the natives, who, on being apprized of the fact, uttered loud complaints, and for the first time threatened to resist any invasion of their territory. Thomas Penn's visit to the province, certainly did not contribute to strengthen the friendship of the Indians, and when he returned to England in 1744, the assembly, in addressing him, said, "whatever differences of opinion may have happened between us, we hope thou wilt believe the freemen of the province retain a proper regard for the proprietary," &c.; plainly showing that a disagreement had existed, and that their separation was not on the cordial terms of their meeting.

John Penn, the eldest of the proprietaries, and who was, moreover, born in the province, made a visit to it in 1734. He remained only a year, and does not appear to have taken any prominent part in the affairs of that period. It is probable that he did not approve his brother's measures, as the assembly took leave of him with evident regret in these words. "The humility, justice, and benevolence which has appeared in thy conduct since thy arrival here, has very deservedly gained thee the esteem and affection of the people, and we do with truth say, thy leaving us at this time, gives an universal concern to the inhabitants of this province." They also expressed a hope that they might soon have the happiness of seeing him "*return, a blessing to his native country.*" In this, however, they were disappointed, as he died in England in 1746.

Of the surviving members of the proprietary's family who had an interest in the province, I would desire to speak with due respect; but the fidelity of history must not be renounced to screen from censure even the immediate offspring of the Founder, if it can be shown that they departed from the bright path in which their father had walked.

My purpose is not to judge them so harshly as to attribute to them, or their agents in the province, all the unhappy misunderstandings with the natives, which gradually led to hostilities, after a peace of seventy years. I know that causes were silently operating, and effects becoming manifest, which were beyond their control; but without breach of charity or truth, it may be asserted that they frequently preferred pecuniary advantages to a regard for the principles which animated their honourable parent, even with the consequent reward of "*durable riches and righteousness.*" "*If my heirs do not keep to God, in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, they will lose all, and desolation will follow,*" a memorable sentiment of the Founder, expressed in 1682, was of prophetic import, and has certainly been fulfilled as it respects their property and rule in Pennsylvania.\*

\* It is a remarkable fact, that none of the children, or other descendants of the Founder of Pennsylvania who had an interest in the province after his death, were members of the Religious Society of which their great progenitor was so distinguished an ornament. This circumstance is not related to convey the least unfavourable opinion of any other Christian denomination, as the writer humbly trusts, that his mind is uninfluenced by bigotry.

Avarice is a grovelling passion that did not degrade that portion of the human family by some denominated *savages*, at any rate not those tribes with whom our ancestors had intercourse. Ambition and sordid interest formed no part of their character. An Indian who once inquired what the Christians intended to convey by the word *covetousness*, on being told that it signified a desire of more than a man had need of, exclaimed, "*that is a strange thing.*" Is it then marvellous that they should be offended, when they saw a disposition in the Europeans to overrun their possessions, and to compass gain at any sacrifice? Disgust and contempt were the emotions produced in their minds by observing that desire for gold which, by this time, it was too evident was the ruling motive of many of the emigrants; and at every conference with the Indians, from 1744, down to 1754, they avowed their opinions on this point, and fearlessly contended for the preservation of their departing rights. I will not detain you by attempting even a sketch of Indian history through the period of fourteen years, to which I have alluded. It will form an important page in our annals, and should be examined and developed with great moral courage, and equitable circumspection. It is sufficient for my purpose to remark, that the transactions of that time establish the fact, that those who felt obligations of gratitude toward the natives, pursued one consistent course, and laboured with conscientious zeal to secure for them a full measure of justice, at the hands of those, who then administered the government.

It is my duty here to notice an accession of valuable emigrants to the province, which occurred in 1740. In that year the Moravian brethren, led by Count Zinzendorf, for the more perfect enjoyment of civil and religious privileges, found an asylum in Pennsylvania, and commenced their well known settlements at Nazareth and Bethlehem, a part of the country then only inhabited by tribes of Indians. They devoted themselves in a remarkable manner, for the improvement of the condition of the aborigines, by inculcating the indestructible truths of the Gospel, to the consolations of which they were instrumental to bring the minds of many of the natives; they also succeeded in giving some of that race a relish for the comforts of civilized life, and a proper estimate of the benefits of agricultural pursuits. The Indians uniformly found them to be judicious advisers, and firm friends, and they co-operated with that part of the Europeans who preceded them here, in anxious and assiduous efforts, to protect the natives from injustice. The unity of the object of this address, and the limited space allowed, compel me to be thus brief in noticing the character and services of that excellent body of people. This is the more admissible, as the labours of Loskiel, and, more recently, those of the venerable Heckewelder, have already made generally known the obligations under which humanity lies, to those indefatigable and unpretending votaries of Christianity.

Near the close of the year 1754, it was observed that movements among the Indians indicated the

approach of more formidable difficulties, than had heretofore arisen. Messengers were frequently passing between tribes remotely situated, and the French were using their influence to alienate the Delawares from their ancient friends of Pennsylvania, whilst the injuries they complained of on account of their lands, and the wrongs inflicted on them by the traders, contributed to make them an easier prey to the accomplished diplomacy of the agents of France. The executive of the province, if watchful of the "*signs of the times*," manifested no inclination to secure the good will of the Indians residing within its borders, by removing the causes of discontent, but adopted various measures of defence against the French, which the natives regarded as preparations for a war with them.

This state of things was contemplated with deep regret by that part of the inhabitants who desired the preservation of peace, and their intercessions with the governor and council, as to the course necessary to be pursued to secure the fidelity of the Indians, were not duly regarded. Meanwhile the public mind paused, and dwelt upon the gloomy aspect of affairs. Every one believed that a crisis was rapidly approaching, and its arrival was awaited with intense solicitude. At length, in the spring of 1755, information reached Philadelphia that the Indians in Virginia had commenced the work of destruction, and during the course of the year similar tidings were received from the western and northern frontiers of Pennsylvania. The war-

whoop and shriek of the exasperated savage, were wafted on every breeze that came from the verge of civilization. Over the hitherto peaceful and distant settlements, the most fearful desolation impended, and the defenceless inhabitants fled before a fierce and merciless foe, seeking refuge among their brethren in the more eastern parts of the province. Here, too, pity and dismay whelmed the hearts of some, whilst a spirit of indignation and revenge was hurrying the minds of others to instant retaliation. Under the pressure of popular excitement, and without counting the awful cost of such an act, governor Morris and his council determined to issue a declaration of war against the Delaware and Shawanese Indians. At this momentous conjuncture, a number of members of the Society of Friends, among whom were the Pembertons, the excellent Benezet, and others of distinguished repute, assembled to consider whether it might be in their power to render any service to their country and to humanity, in this hour of affliction. The result of the conference was a belief, that if hostilities could be postponed, and a communication had with some of the chiefs, the terrible consequences of an Indian war might yet be averted. They, therefore, presented the following address to

“ Robert Hunter Morris, Esq. Lieutenant-governor, &c. :—The humble address of some of the  
“ people called Quakers, residing in the city of Philadelphia, on behalf of themselves and many  
“ others :—

“With hearts sorely distressed and deeply affected with the calamities of our fellow subjects, and painfully apprehensive of the desolation consequent of an Indian war, we address the governor, and earnestly entreat thy favourable attention on this solemn and important occasion, in which the lives and liberties of the people of this province are so nearly concerned. We have, with the most sensible concern and pain of mind, observed the sorrowful alteration in the state of this late peaceful province, now become the theatre of bloodshed and rapine, and distressed by the cruel devastation of a barbarous enemy, which justly excites the most aggravating reflections in every considerate mind; yet, when we consider that all wars are attended with fatal consequences, and one with enemies so savage as those who have now become ours, with circumstances the most shocking and dreadful, we cannot omit beseeching, that before the resolution of declaring war against them be carried into execution, some further attempts may be made by pacific measures to reduce them to a sense of their duty, and that a further opportunity may be offered to such as may be willing to separate from those who had been the wicked instruments of perverting them. The settlement of this province was founded on the principles of truth, equity, and mercy, and the blessing of Divine Providence attended the early care of the first founders to impress these principles on the minds of the native inhabitants; so that when



“their numbers were great and their strength vastly  
“superior, they received our ancestors with glad-  
“ness—relieved their wants with open hearts,  
“granted them peaceable possession of the land,  
“and for a long course of time gave constant proofs  
“of a cordial friendship; all which we humbly  
“ascribe to the infinite wisdom and goodness of  
“God, ‘whose hand is for good upon all them that  
“seek him;’ and as the angelic acclamations of  
“glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and  
“good will to men, with which the birth of our  
“Lord Jesus Christ was published, and the exam-  
“ples and precepts which he as the Prince of Peace  
“gave through the course of his personal appear-  
“ance on earth, have given us undoubted assurance  
“that the day is dawning in which his peaceable  
“reign will be exalted, and gradually become uni-  
“versal; we cannot, without neglect of our duty,  
“and sacrificing the peace of our consciences, which  
“we prefer to every temporal blessing, omit re-  
“living our testimony in this time of probation,  
“that all wars appear to us contrary to the nature  
“and end of the gospel dispensation, and that we  
“still firmly believe that on an humble and steady  
“acquiescence with the dispensations of Divine  
“Providence our real protection and security de-  
“pends, from which no temporal inconveniences  
“and difficulties can justify our departing. Yet,  
“while we earnestly desire all may attain to this  
“happy experience, we do not presume to prescribe,  
“but as our minds feel more than our words can

“express of pain and anxiety for our brethren and  
“fellow Christians whose desolation we fear will  
“be increased and perpetuated by a hasty declaration of war, we find ourselves obliged to beseech  
“the governor to resume the most weighty, serious,  
“and religious deliberation on this melancholy occasion, that so every measure which hath been  
“pursued, and whatever remains possible to be  
“done to prevent so fatal and lamentable an extremity, may be strictly and impartially reviewed  
“and considered. That full inquiry may be made,  
“whether some apprehensions these Indians have  
“conceived of a deviation from the integrity of conduct towards them, so conspicuous in the first  
“establishment of Pennsylvania, may not unhappily  
“have contributed in some degree to the alteration  
“of their conduct towards us : that full time may be  
“allowed for those Indians who still remain well  
“affected towards us, to use and report the effect of  
“their endeavours to reconcile our enemies, and  
“that proper care may be taken to prevent our allies  
“being, through the misconduct or evil dispositions  
“of any, injured in such manner as to provoke them  
“likewise to turn their arms against us ; and, that  
“the governor’s care to guard against involving the  
“innocent with the guilty, may carry so clear demonstration of Christian tenderness and aversion  
“to shedding blood, that an evidence may be given  
“to the minds of the other neighbouring Indians,  
“which may engage them heartily and sincerely to  
“assist in the desirable work of restoring peace

“and tranquillity, towards which all the measures  
“hitherto taken seem to have contributed little good  
“effect. We, therefore, with sincerity and ardency,  
“pray, that the calamities may be averted which  
“will ensue on a continued war with these savages,  
“some of the melancholy effects of which the an-  
“nals of a neighbouring province full of the most  
“warlike people, have testified ; and as the fear of  
“God, love of our brethren and fellow Christians,  
“are the motives which engage us to make this  
“address, we hope to demonstrate by our conduct  
“that every occasion of assisting and relieving the  
“distressed, and contributing towards the obtaining  
“peace, in a manner consistent with our peaceable  
“profession, will be cheerfully improved by us, and  
“even though a much larger part of our estates  
“should be necessary than the heaviest taxes of a  
“war can be expected to require, we shall cheer-  
“fully, by voluntary grants, evidence our sincerity  
“herein. May the mind of the governor be indued  
“with that wisdom which the wisest of kings ex-  
“perienced to be ‘better than weapons of war,’ and  
“may thy councils be directed to the honour of  
“God, and good of the people, over whom thou  
“presidest, is our sincere desire and prayer.”

I make no apology for having given entire this energetic and touching appeal, because it has never before been published. However much it may have affected the mind of the governor, when he was afterwards waited upon by some of the gentlemen who had signed it, he informed them that he had sub-

mitted their address to the council, who, with himself, had notwithstanding resolved to proclaim war, as soon as some measures of precaution should be completed.

Having, as they supposed, failed in their endeavours with the executive, these benevolent men deemed it right to communicate their opinions and views to the assembly of the freemen of the province, to which body a memorial was presented of similar tenor with that sent to the governor. Thus affairs remained for a few days. During this interval, three or four chiefs of the Six Nations, and one of the Delawares, unexpectedly came to Philadelphia, with whom a conference was held by some of the individuals before-mentioned, in the presence of Conrad Weiser, a confidential provincial interpreter, who had been long familiar with the Indians, and who gave it as his opinion, that these chiefs manifested more pacific dispositions, than he had for a long time before observed. The interpreter said to the Friends, "my advice to you is to call together as many of your ancient men, survivors of the first settlers, as you can collect, meet the Indians again, repeat and enforce your first conversation, and present them with a belt of wampum." This was accordingly done, and the governor made acquainted with what had occurred; he was at the same time assured, that if he would advise and direct further proceedings it would be gratifying to the intercessors, who wished to do nothing but what might be perfectly agreeable to him,

in effectually prosecuting the great object in view ; and he was moreover told, that for prosecuting pacific measures he should be supplied with five thousand pounds by the private "subscriptions of the "members of their religious society." A mediation was thus providentially acknowledged, and messengers dispatched to the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, who resided on the Susquehanna, bearing suitable communications, and affording an opportunity for ascertaining their disposition to restore harmony. Israel Pemberton, likewise, immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, and Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs for the North American colonies, informing them of the interposition of Friends in Pennsylvania, and soliciting their aid to accomplish the merciful object they had in view. From both those gentlemen he received assurances of hearty concurrence in their plan for restoring peace to the province. The agents who had been sent to Wyoming soon returned, with satisfactory accounts of the friendly dispositions of the Indians in that quarter, and brought with them speeches made on behalf of the Indians, at the council held at Teagong. Paxinosa spoke thus—"The "dark clouds overspread our country so suddenly, "that we were all at once separated—the dark "cloud got in between us—but it has pleased the "Most High to remove it a little, so that we can "just see one another again. Our eyes are running "with tears at seeing our country covered with your

“blood and ours. Let me wipe the tears from your eyes. As you came a great way and through dangerous places, where evil spirits reign, who might have put several things in your way to obstruct your business, this string of wampum serves to clear your mind, that you may speak freely to us.” After which, Teedyuscung, a Delaware chief, said—

“*Brother Onas, and People of Pennsylvania,*

“I rejoice to hear from you—that you are willing to renew the old understanding, and that you call to mind the first treaties of friendship made by Onas, our great friend, who is dead, with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here. We take hold of these treaties with both our hands, and desire you will do the same, that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established; let us both take hold of these treaties with all our strength we beseech you, we on our side will certainly do it.

“Brother Onas—What you said to us we took to heart, and it entered into our heart, and we speak to you from our heart, and we will deal honestly with you in every respect.

“Brother Onas—We desire you will look upon us with eyes of mercy—we are a very poor people, our wives and children are almost naked, we are void of understanding, and destitute of the necessities of life—pity us.”

Another deputation was soon after sent, and an

interchange of friendly sentiments took place between the governor and the tribes on the Susquehanna, by whose agency pacific overtures were also made to the Six Nations more remotely situated. In a memorandum book kept by the Friends of Philadelphia, whose interposition was so judicious and effectual, I find this record. "From the time  
"of the first messenger's arrival at the Susquehanna,  
"the hostilities on our northern frontiers ceased,  
"and an acceptable respite being obtained for our  
"distressed fellow subjects, we enjoyed so much  
"satisfaction and real pleasure, in this happy event  
"of our endeavours, as to engage us cheerfully to  
"pursue the business we had begun, though many  
"malicious aspersions were cast upon us, by persons from whom we had a right to expect encouragement and assistance."

One of the objects of the message of governor Morris to the Indians, was a proposition for meeting their chiefs to treat of peace, which, being accepted by them, the parties agreed to meet at Easton in the early part of the summer of 1756. The few individuals who had been instrumental to accomplish so much good in so short a time, determined to give such further attention to the subject as its importance merited—a subject to which they believed themselves called by the highest obligations of duty, and regard for the public welfare. They were, moreover, informed that Teedyuscung, the king of the Delawares, had expressed to the governor's messengers, his own and the wishes of his people,

*“that the Quakers, who had taken the first steps toward the restoration of tranquillity, should attend the approaching treaty.”* In order to prepare for this, and other occasions that might arise, it was believed that considerable funds would be required, and it became necessary to increase the number of individuals engaged, and give a suitable designation to their proceedings. A meeting was therefore immediately called, at which many of their fellow members in religious society assembled, who agreed to some general principles of government, under the title of *“The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians, by pacific measures.”* Twelve hundred pounds were forthwith subscribed to defray the expenses of attending with presents for the Indians at Easton, and in a few hours afterwards, upwards of twenty members of the association, deputed to the service, left Philadelphia for the treaty ground. Several days elapsed after they reached Easton, before the *Council fire* was lighted, and during the interval, several of the deputation ascertained that their presence was not grateful to the governor and his attendants. They were, however, men who could not easily be alarmed, or driven from their beneficent purpose, and after several interviews with the proprietary agents, their attendance was recognised, and the conference was opened in due form, by governor Morris and the native chiefs. Little further was done on the occasion, than an interchange of assurances between the executive and the



Indians, that hostile movements should cease on both sides, and that in the autumn a treaty should be held at the same place, for the full explanation and adjustment of the existing disputes. The Indian king, on parting with the deputies of the association, expressed his satisfaction at having their company, and begged their kind notice of them by attending future councils. In the latter part of the ensuing fall, a number of representatives of the association, went again to Easton, and, with the Indians, awaited the coming of the newly-appointed governor Denny, who soon after arrived, and proceeded to the interesting investigation which had been promised. After the appropriate Indian ceremonies were performed, one of the chiefs spoke; he referred to the ancient treaties of their forefathers with the first emigrants to the province, and declared their desire to renew the friendship, upon the same liberal and just basis. Several days were spent in preliminary discussions, and at length, king Teedyuscung, in a speech of much energy, ability, and fearlessness, portrayed the history of their wrongs, and demanded retribution at the hands of the governor. This unlooked for recital and requisition, alarmed some of the proprietary agents, and an effort was made to prevent any further elucidation of the subject, which, however, the intrepid and indignant chief at first resisted. The introduction of ardent spirits—the voracious appetite for their hunting grounds—the evil conduct of the traders, and particularly the famous *walking purchase*, as it was

called, were the prominent topics of the king's discourse; and these matters were brought home with such precision and effect, as to forbid denial or justification on the part of those who were implicated. At a subsequent session of the council, the Indians were convinced, that for want of certain deeds, and other writings, which were in Philadelphia, a full understanding could not be had of some of the points in question, and they consented to refer the subject to a future time, requesting their friends of the association, to examine the public records on their behalf, to satisfy themselves of the truth of the assertions their chief had made. The treaty was closed after the customary presentation of gifts, and I quote from the manuscript notes of one of the most efficient individuals of the association, who was there, an interesting anecdote, which furnishes the strongest evidence of the nature of the relations which subsisted between the deputation and the natives. "Teedyuscung, and most of his people came to the ferry to take leave of us. The king remarked to two of our company,\* that what had been said to him a few days before, went to his heart, and brought tears into his eyes, that he now found his heart affected in the same manner, (his speaking was interrupted by much emotion,) when he added, that in the course of this business he had endeavoured to look up to God for direction, that when he was alone in the woods,

\* Israel Pemberton and Isaac Zane.

“and destitute of any other counsellor, he found  
“by doing so, he had the best direction, that he  
“hoped God would bless our endeavours, and de-  
“sired to be remembered by us when we were far  
“from him. He followed us to the boat, and was  
“so much affected, he could only by tears express  
“his gratitude and respect, which, as it appeared  
“to be the effect of a divine visitation to a savage  
“barbarian, was a humbling scene, and excited re-  
“verent and thankful sentiments in the minds of  
“those who observed it.”

From the purest motives, the association continued devoted to the cause it had espoused, and on many subsequent occasions by furnishing liberal funds, enabled the assembly to hold treaties and make presents to the Indians, which could not otherwise have been done, owing to the exhausted state of the provincial treasury. At every conference with the natives, some of its members were appointed to attend, and on many occasions, great fatigue, exposure, and privation were endured, by travelling to remote points in a desert country, to fulfil those arduous duties. The sole purpose of all these labours was the peace of the province, and the association knew that this great result could only be speedily and certainly attained, by satisfying the just demands of the Indians<sup>in</sup> paying them for their land. They well knew that this was the corner stone upon which Penn and their ancestors laid their claim to the regard of the natives. In a letter to governor Denny in 1757, they emphatically say, “This province

“ was settled on terms very different from most of  
“ the other colonies: the first adventurers were men  
“ of substance and reputation, who purchased the  
“ land of the proprietary, and as he obliged himself  
“ and his heirs, by an express covenant contained in  
“ their original deeds, to clear the land from all  
“ titles, claims, and demands of the Indians, they  
“ agreed to pay an annual quit rent, more than suf-  
“ ficient to enable him to satisfy the natives, and  
“ obtain a peaceable possession of the soil. During  
“ the lives of our first proprietary, and the first set-  
“ tlers, we believe this was faithfully performed,  
“ and so large a balance remained towards making  
“ further purchases as the settlement of the country  
“ increased, that any attempt to elude the original  
“ intention and agreement of fairly purchasing the  
“ land of the people who had a native right to it,  
“ will ever be condemned by all impartial and ho-  
“ nest men.”

Such were the wholesome truths which those honourable politicians marshalled before the highest authority of the province—they asked for no more than common justice for the poor Indians, and they had a right to see this measure of justice administered, for the reasons assigned in their address to the governor. But these were unpalatable doctrines for the proprietaries, who, through their agents here, were by this time made acquainted with the ground which was taken by the association to sustain the claims of the natives, regain their friendship, and vindicate themselves. The case here was too pal-

pable to be denied, or availingly opposed. But the proprietaries who were in England, managed to bring the authority of the British government to crush if possible these advocates of the just rights of the Indians, as we shall presently see. A treaty being about to be held, a committee of the association in its uniformly respectful manner waited upon the governor with an offer of its funds, and also to acquaint him that a deputation would attend as on previous occasions, if it met his approbation. To which governor Denny replied, that expecting they would call, he had prepared a written communication, which he presented to them as follows:—

“GENTLEMEN,

“The proprietaries have acquainted me that the  
“earl of Halifax has communicated to them with  
“very strong expressions of dissatisfaction, that a  
“treaty was held with the Indians at Philadelphia,  
“and the people called Quakers, which his lordship  
“was pleased to think was the most extraordinary  
“procédure he had ever seen in persons who are on  
“the same footing only with all others of the king’s  
“private subjects, to presume to treat with foreign  
“princes. And further, that as the suffering any  
“one part of the king’s subjects, whether of a differ-  
“ent profession of religion, or, however, else distin-  
“guished, to treat or act as mediators between a  
“province in which they live and any independent  
“people, is the highest invasion of his majesty’s pre-  
“rogative royal, and of the worse consequence, as

“it must tend to divide the king’s subjects into different parties and interests, and by how much more these, or any other body of people are suffered to attach the Indians to their own particular interest, by so much the less must their regard to people of other professions be. The proprietaries have therefore directed me not to suffer those people, or any other body or particular society in Pennsylvania to concern themselves in any treaty with the Indians, or on any pretence to suffer presents from such persons to be given to the Indians, or to be joined with the public presents at any such treaty. These directions I shall conform to, and my regard to you, as well as the proprietaries instructions, lead me to observe, it would be prudent in you to decline going in a body—your attendance at treaties as a distinct society, having given great offence to the ministry.”

If proof had before been wanting to convince any reasonable man of the ungenerous dispositions of the proprietaries and their agents, toward the Indians, or of their determination to prevent the dispensation of equity and justice, even at the risk of savage warfare and desolation, to the exposed inhabitants of the province, this extraordinary measure could not fail to put the matter at rest forever!

Can it be believed, that without the direct interposition to which I have alluded, the British ministry could have been induced to make so formidable an attack upon a few ancient and pacific men, in a remote colony, whose only aims were the promotion

of the welfare of its people? Certainly if the proprietaries had not meddled in this affair, his majesty and his ministers never could have dreamed of an invasion of the royal prerogative, and all the other frightful evils complained of, and, however much the fact is to be regretted, I am satisfied that the position originally laid down in regard to the proprietary feeling concerning the Indians, is fairly and fully established.\*

\* The magnanimous conduct of PRESIDENT WASHINGTON toward the Society of Friends, in a case similar to that which incurred the displeasure of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, their agents, and the British ministry, is deemed worthy of record. In 1792, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia was seriously affected, on account of the war that had then for some time subsisted on the western frontiers, between the inhabitants of those parts and the Indians. This concern led to the presentation of an address to the president and congress of the United States, expressive of sympathy with the white people and Indians, who were suffering from hostilities; acknowledging a continued sense of gratitude to the natives, whose forefathers cherished and assisted their ancestors in the early settlement of the country, and earnestly requesting that the cause of the uneasiness of the Indians might be investigated and removed. The address was respectfully received, and the president adopted measures to prevail on the Indians to hold a treaty the succeeding spring at Sandusky. A deputation of six members of the Society of Friends, accompanied the commissioners appointed by President Washington, and after encountering many difficulties, reached Fort Detroit, where they received a message from the Indians, that unless the Ohio river should be the boundary, they were unwilling to confer; and the commissioners, not being authorized to comply with their proposal, the treaty was frustrated, and the party returned without being able to effect the object of the mission. In

Notwithstanding the manifesto of the Earl of Halifax, the association pursued the even tenor of its way, and continued to employ every effort to achieve

1794, the Six Nations became discontented with the conditions imposed on them at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. In order to prevent an interruption of the tranquillity which had subsisted between them and the United States from the close of the revolutionary war, it was agreed to hold a treaty with them at Canandaque, and Colonel Pickering was chosen sole commissioner on behalf of the United States. The Indians, as on the previous occasion, sent a request that some of the people called Quakers might attend, and a deputation of four of their members was appointed for that purpose, who waited upon the president and informed him of the proceedings of the society, *which received his cordial approbation*. Provided with an address on behalf of their brethren, adapted to the occasion, and furnished with suitable presents for the Indians, the deputies proceeded to the treaty ground, where the negotiation was begun and continued for forty-eight days. The result of this conference was highly satisfactory to all who were concerned in it. On the last day, when the council fire was about to be extinguished, the deputation made a farewell address to the Indians, to which *Farmers Brother*, a chief of great distinction, thus replied on behalf of his people.

“Brothers,

“We are very glad to see you. When we sent for you, “our desire was that you might sit by our sides, and afford “your assistance to make a good peace. Last year we invited “you to come to Sandusky; you willingly rose from your “seat and came forward; you know how things turned out; it “was not the will of the Great Spirit that a treaty should “take place at that time, yet we thank you because you so “willingly rose from your seat, and came forward so readily. “We have many times heard the voice of *Onas*, it was



its noble designs. The assembly were afterwards repeatedly supplied with money from its treasury, to prosecute negotiations with the Indians, its funds were also applied under its own direction in furnishing the natives with subsistence and clothing, and some of their young people were instructed under its patronage in the arts of civilized life. Among other means of testifying its regard for the Indians, and that they should possess a memorial which might frequently remind them of the sincere and cordial dispositions of its members, the association had a medal struck with a device, representing an Indian and a European seated at a council fire, the latter pointing with the calumet, or pipe of peace toward the sun, near the zenith, the whole design being encircled with this beautiful sentiment, "*Let us look to the Most High, who blessed our fathers with peace.*" The execution of this medal, was the first attempt in that department of the fine arts in Pennsylvania. The dies, not highly finished, as may readily be supposed, were engraved by Ed-

"always good to us; we have now heard it again, and what  
"you have said is good. You have seen the writings by which  
"we are bound; you say you are not concerned in public af-  
"fairs, and that you think it will not be best for you to sign  
"them; brothers, you have made our minds easy, and we  
"have no hard thoughts concerning you, because you do not  
"put your names to the writings. Brothers, the Great Spirit  
"gave this island to us; the white people have greatly increas-  
"ed: there is no difference between the red people and the  
"white, they are all one, and ought to be brothers, and live  
"in peace one with another."

ward Duffield of Philadelphia, and cost fifteen pounds. At that time, the coining press being unknown in this country, the dies were cut on punches fixed in a socket, and the impressions made by the stroke of a sledge hammer.

The association existed for seven years, during which period, almost twenty thousand dollars were voluntarily contributed by its members, to defray the expenses incurred in the prosecution of its laudable views, a sum which even now would be considered liberal, but which, bestowed nearly three-fourths of a century ago, is entitled to be recorded, as a splendid benefaction.

On taking leave of the distinguished philanthropists, a brief notice of whose Christian labours has been thus submitted, a profound sense of gratitude for their example and faithful services, is kindled in my heart; an offering more ardent and pure, than any tribute that mere language can pay.

Others have abundantly shown, that the Founder and lawgiver of Pennsylvania, and his associates, our honoured forefathers, were practically wise, and eminently successful, in giving refuge and rest to the oppressed of all nations—it has been my humbler task to prove, that they were also toward their benefactors, generous and *just!*



**COMMUNICATION**

**FROM**

**ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.**

**ON THE SUBJECT OF**

**TWO MEDALS**

**STRUCK IN PHILADELPHIA,**

**IN 1757.**

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*Read before the Society, February 5th, 1827.*





## COMMUNICATION, &c.

*To the Members of the Historical Society.*

In the Discourse which was delivered on New Year's day, I gave some account of a medal which was engraved and issued at Philadelphia, in the year 1757, by "*The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures.*" By the kindness of John Richardson, of this city, whose grandfather, Joseph Richardson, was a silversmith, and struck the medals for the association, of which he was likewise a useful member, I am enabled to furnish the Society with a copy of the original instance in this department of the fine arts in Pennsylvania. From the same individual, I have also received an impression of another medal, executed here by order of the Corpo-

ration of this city, to commemorate the destruction of Kittanning by Colonel Armstrong, which bears date the 6th of September, 1756, the point of time when that event occurred, though the medal was not designed and published, until after that of the Friendly Association. These interesting specimens, will, I am sure, be carefully preserved in the cabinet of the Society, in such manner as will associate with them the name of the respectable donor.

I remain, &c.

ROBERTS VAUX.

*Philadelphia, 2d month 5th, 1827.*

**A NARRATIVE**  
**OF**  
**AN EMBASSY**  
**TO THE**  
**WESTERN INDIANS,**  
**FROM THE**  
**ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT**  
**OF**  
**HENDRICK AUPAUMUT,**  
**WITH**  
**PREFATORY REMARKS**  
**BY**  
**DR. B. H. COATES,**

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*Communicated to the Society, April 19th, 1826.*





## A NARRATIVE, &c.

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The following narrative was found among the papers of a late eminent and philanthropic citizen of this community;\* and, from evidence internal and external, appears to be an original and an autograph. It is no other than the history of an Indian negotiation, as recorded by the negociator, himself an Indian:—circumstances which certainly give it a very peculiar complexion.

We know of no instance, as yet, in which the history of the wars and diplomacy of our native predecessors has ever been committed to print, as prepared by one of their own race and character. It reviewing the events of our frontiers, men desirous of preserving the impartiality of history, have often felt the want of some direct expression of the feelings and opinions of the sons of the forest themselves. An ancient fable has been realized—the lions have had no painters—no apologists have arisen to celebrate and exalt their great actions, or to narrate and exemplify those co-operating circumstances, which led to and partly justified their follies and their crimes. Members of a favoured race, which was destined by Providence to increase, while the house of their predecessors has

\* Isaac Zane, Esq.

continued to "wax weaker and weaker," many individuals among the white Americans have felt a desire that justice should be done at least to the fame of the aborigines, and that those who have been deprived, for our sakes, of country and of existence, should not also experience that common lot of the unfortunate, the partial frown of history.

As the benevolent individual, from whose papers the manuscript before us was obtained, with the consent of the legal claimant, was long and frequently engaged in Indian affairs, this circumstance, as far as it goes, confirms the authenticity of the narrative.

The internal evidence of this character which the latter itself affords is very considerable. It is composed of half-sheets, originally somewhat rudely stitched together, written throughout in the same hand, and signed at the end with the name of the author. The "Message to the United States," which the writer describes himself, as having committed to paper, by direction and in the presence of an Indian council, is, as this circumstance would naturally lead us to expect, written in a separate pamphlet. The narrative is freely interlined with corrections in grammar and expression; not indeed sufficient to render it perfectly admissible as an English composition, but appearing to have been aimed at the more obvious faults. These are, in fact, precisely such as we might naturally anticipate, in the writings of one who had received an

English education at a good school, but who had been so long accustomed to an entirely different system of grammar, that he was not able to render himself quite familiar with the use of our idioms. Thus, particles are omitted, the singular and plural numbers confounded, &c. Other errors strongly characterize the German pronunciation as having affected that of the author's instructors in the language he writes. Among these are such as *propable* for probable, *considered* for considered it, &c.

As our pious and laborious countrymen of the Moravian persuasion were long the almost exclusive sources of education which the Indians possessed, it is not improbable that the author of the following sheets received his instruction from them. We may, in passing, observe that, from this circumstance, we are entitled to look, in his pages, for a spelling of aboriginal names consonant to the German idiom; a principle which seems consecrated by usage, and by the examples of the venerable Heckewelder and Zeisberger, in the expression of sounds derived from the language of the Delawares.

The author has omitted to mention the year in which his expedition took place; and this is the more remarkable, as his accuracy in noting the months and days seems to be invariable. It may, however, have been mentioned in the title page, which is lost. In the twenty-fourth page of General St. Clair's narrative of his unfortunate expedi-

tion, occur the following words, under date of August 4th, 1791:—

“Hendricks Apaumut gone to the Miamis from Colonel Pickering. For the measures taken for his safety, see my orders to the officers commanding at the outposts, and a proclamation to the inhabitants.”

The documents here referred to are not, however, to be found in General St. Clair's volume.

The period which intervened between the departure of the warriors from the council, according to Aupaumut, and the epocha of the battle, is twenty-three days. On the 12th of October, the writer saw the Shawanese and Wyandot warriors share the ammunition furnished them, (during a time of profound peace,) by the British agent, and depart for war. The date of the unfortunate catastrophe was November 4th.

On the 31st of August, according to the present narrative, the Big Knives are said to have been discovered near Fort Jefferson. Now it was not till the 18th of October, 1791, according to General St. Clair, (narrative, p. 18,) or the 12th, according to the secretary of war, p. 68, that Fort Jefferson was commenced. Again on the 8th of August, the author of the present paper represents himself as having proposed to the Delawares, through their chief, the Big Cat, that they should send to General Putnam, at Fort Jefferson, not mentioning the name of General St. Clair.

By the politeness of the Hon. Charles Miner, member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, and of Colonel M'Kenney, of the War Department, we have been favoured with copies of two papers, issued by that office in 1793, the one being a "Memorandum of instructions given to Captain Hendricks by Colonel Pickering;" the other, "Instructions to the runners" to the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami. To reconcile these different dates, (1794 and 1793,) we are unprepared, unless by the supposition that Hendrick proceeded twice to that country.

The perusal of the manuscript presents us with some further difficulties; which, however, are not of an insuperable character. For example, we are told of "the Seven Nations of Canada," while we neither gain from the present document, the information of whom so large a body consisted, nor can call to recollection from sources of general access, the existence, at any period, of such a confederacy. We are to presume that it was some combination made under the auspices of the British government of Canada. The "Big Knives," on the other hand, whom Heckewelder describes to be the Americans, are here spoken of as a body of people distinct from either the American whites, the Indians, or the English. From the passage where the United States government is introduced as stating that it could control the Big Knives with ease; from that in which Delawares are said to have served in war along with them; and from many others, this term,

in Indian use, seems to have included both the inhabitants of our frontier and the military. After all, it is probable that a part of our difficulty arises, from our ascribing to the Indians greater precision in language than either their dialect or their habits are calculated to produce.

As reference is made in the narrative to Colonel Pickering, it was conceived that the best way to ascertain and confirm the authenticity of the memoir and the authority of the writer, was to request that eminent citizen to communicate what he possessed and could disclose relative to these points. Application was accordingly made to him, by letter, and was followed by a polite reply, which we are permitted to insert, as follows:—

*Salem, April 15, 1826.*

DEAR SIR,

I received yesterday your letter of the 10th instant, with information of a manuscript purporting to have been written by Hendrick Aupaumut, being a narrative of his mission to the western tribes of Indians, who, in 1791, were carrying on a distressing war against the frontier settlements of the United States, in the north-western territory. Turning to General St. Clair's narrative of his unfortunate expedition, in 1791, against those tribes, I find the passage you quote, (page 24)—“Henry Aupaumut gone to the Miamis from Colonel Pickering.” The next words are, “for the measures taken for his safety, see my orders to the officers

commanding at the outposts, and a proclamation to the inhabitants." These additional words clearly show that Hendrick Aupaumut's mission had been *officially* made known to General St. Clair, by documents presented to him by Hendrick, I suppose from the Secretary of War, General Knox; for I have no recollection of my being the medium of any instruction to Hendrick; but he certainly went on this mission. In May, 1791, I lived at Wyoming; but I saw Hendrick after his return, and I perfectly recollect his telling me, that his language and the languages of the Chippawas and others of the western tribes, were so similar, that he could converse with them.

Peace, you know, was not effected. St. Clair's action and defeat took place in November, 1791. They continued the war. In 1793, commissioners, (of whom I was one,) were appointed to negotiate a peace—they refused to negotiate. The next year, General Wayne gave them a signal defeat, at the Miami of the Lake, and then they made peace.

Now to the tribe and character of Hendrick Aupaumut. He was the chief of the remnant of the tribe by some called *Mohicans*; but in answer to my inquiries, thirty years ago, he pronounced the name as expressed, (to my ear,) by these English letters—Muh-he-con-uck; the letter h being affixed to the first syllable to indicate its guttural sound, and the last syllable being to my ear sounded uck, and not ne-u or ne-oo. His name may be seen subscribed to the treaties with the Six Nations, and with the



Oneidas, in 1794, in the second volume of the laws of the United States, edition of 1796. In the treaty with the Oneidas, he is called *of the Stockbridge Indians*. This remnant of the Muh-he-con-uks had long dwelt in the township of Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, and until our revolutionary war terminated; after which they removed to the country of the Oneidas, who gave them a township of land, accompanied by their missionary, the Reverend Mr. Sargeant, whose decease was announced a few years since. I dined with Hendrick at his house in that township in 1794.

With Captain Hendrick, (so he was generally called,) I have had conversations, at different times. He was intelligent, and spoke the English language familiarly; and with so much correctness as to be easily and distinctly understood; and he wrote a legible hand. I think it probable that I have specimens of his writing, in some applications to me, but I do not know where, among a mass of papers, to look for them. He always manifested a steady attachment to the United States, and sustained a reputation entitling him to public confidence. From the opinion I have always entertained of him, I should rely on his statements of facts falling under his own observation, or as communicated to him by others. The last time I saw him was at the city of Washington, about the year 1808 or 1809. I met him accidentally when he and Nicholas Cusick, a Tuscarora, (whom I instantly recollected,) were on their way to North Carolina, to solicit from its go-

verament some satisfaction for the land of the Tuscaroras, who had been driven, or migrated, from North Carolina, a century or more before, and to whom the *Five Nations* gave a seat in their territory. The body of the Tuscarora tribe resided, in 1793, about eight miles southward of Fort Niagara, the country of the S  nekas. Nicholas Cusick lived with the Oneidas. He spoke English, and, I think had a commission of lieutenant in the war of our revolution.

I am obliged by your father's remembrance of me, and cordially reciprocate his kind wishes.

With great regard, I am, dear sir, your friend,  
T. PICKERING.

If Hendrick's manuscript is correct in spelling and grammar, his draft must have been corrected, perhaps by Mr. Sargeant.

Doctor COATES.

This manuscript lends us a curious opportunity of looking behind the scenes, previously to the performance of a tragedy of the deepest interest, to which the attention of the nation was at that time urgently drawn. It discloses to us in vigorous relief, enhanced by the simplicity of the narrative, the original prepossession against the American government, strong, because uncontradicted and uncounteracted, the vivid recollection on the part of the majority of the Delawares, of their ancient friendship with this nation, the divisions in opinion

universal among the tribes, the ardour of the warriors prompting to combat, the prudence of the sachems urging peace, the malignant activity of the British agents, the bold treachery of individuals among the natives, the influence of accident and circumstance, and the mistrust of offers backed by military force. Our days of Indian warfare are, it is to be hoped, gone by; and the alternate conflagration of the cottage and the wigwam, the successive butchery of peaceful settlers, women and children, on the one hand, and of desperate warriors, overpowered by numbers and skill, on the other, are perhaps destined to fill our gazettes no more. Partly by the simple numerical increase of our population, and partly by an energetic system, anticipating the evil with prevention, and stretching the influence of the United States far beyond the range of their settlements, we are at length secured from the war of the rifle, the hatchet, and the knife. The only anxiety now felt by the people of these republics relative to the Indian race, refers to the welfare of the unfortunate red men themselves. Since this portentous change, a change which dates as recently as the wars of Generals Harrison and Jackson, has left us at liberty to legislate, *more Romano*, for the preservation of the crushed and dispirited vanquished, certainly those objects which the wise and good have in view in desiring their civilization, must be materially forwarded by the possession of such a document as this.

Undistorted by enmity or interest, it presents an

authentic view of the feelings which actuate these unfortunate men in situations so desperate, and yet of so frequent recurrence.

The narrative also affords us some light on Indian manners and history, which was perhaps particularly desirable at the present moment. To omit smaller matters, a vehement attack has recently been made in a popular review, on the venerable Heckewelder. This has been already replied to—(see Vol. I. p. 258, of these Memoirs.) But it may be with propriety observed here, that ample testimony is borne by the author of the memoir before us, to the respectful and honorary title of grandfather having been conferred, as recorded by the good missionary, on the nation of Delawares, by all the other tribes acquainted with them, except the Wyandots and the Six Nations, whom they called uncles. This testimony is the more important, as it is that, not of one of the Delawares themselves, but of a member of another tribe, acknowledging this superiority in them over himself and the citizens of his own community. It is worthy of remark, that this dignity is described by our narrator as having been conferred and recognized by solemn treaty, “about two hundred years ago;” and that in another place, he ascribes to the British and the then Five Nations, the formal commission to the Delawares, of the task of effecting a general peace, an office for which they found themselves inadequate. The reader will observe that this is expressly stated to have been done, because “this nation had the

“greatest influence with the southern, western, and “northern nations.” We have thus an additional confirmation of the opinion, that this alleged superiority and peace-making character of the Delawares, instead of being, as it has been recently considered, the mere invention of a conquered people, designed to sooth and flatter their minds under a conscious sense of inferiority, and in the case of the *assumption of the petticoat*, “a disgraceful passing *sub jugo*,” is, in reality, matter of authentic history, well adapted to excite both our commiseration for the former inhabitants of our own soil, and our distinct disapprobation of the tendency perceptible among some of our countrymen to cast a slight on this once powerful, and comparatively virtuous, but unfortunate people.

The unhappy Delawares, dispossessed of their native seats, at first by sale, and subsequently by the artifices of the Six Nations, and by the intrusions and violence of the inhabitants of the frontier, and successively pushed before the advancing tide of settlement and war, seem always to have borne the brunt of the attacks of the whites. Forced by the advance of civilization to obtain land from their western neighbours, they still continued to form the Indian advanced guard ; and if villages were burnt, or warriors slain, the greatest loss always fell upon the Lenape. This may amply account for their present diminished numbers and influence, without calling in question the veracity of the only authentic record we possess of their former history.

*Captain Hendrick Aupaumut's Journal.*

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I have no doubt of the authenticity of this manuscript—that it was written by Hendrick himself. The handwriting appears to be the same with specimens I have formerly seen, that were written by him, and distinguished with similar incorrectnesses. In two places, in the fore part of his journal, he writes the name of his tribe, as I had learned to write it from him, Muh-he-con-nuk. And where it is written Muhheaconneeu, I presume it represents the name applied to his tribe by the western Indians.

T. PICKERING.

*Philadelphia, August 24, 1827.*

## A SHORT NARRATION

OF

*My last Journey to the Western Contry.*

Having agreed with the great men of the United States, to take a tour, with their message of peace to the hostile nations—which enterprise some of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations did oppose—alledged that it would be folly for the United States to send me on that business—(says they,) the Western Nations will not regard the voice of One Nation—but the business ought to be negotiated by the Five Nations and the British. But on my part, I have hitherto had a persuasion on my mind, that if the Western Nations could be rightly informed of the desires of the United States, they would comply for peace, and that the informer should be an Indian to whom they look upon as a true friend, who has never deceived or injured them.

When I come to reflect in the path of my ancestors, the friendship and connections they have had with these western tribes, and my own feelings towards them, I conclude that I could acquaint them my best knowledge with regard of the dispositions, desires, and might of the United States, without partiality—and without groundless opinion I could be more useful in that particular embassy than those who have been opposing my undertaking, &c.

Before I proceed in the business I am upon, I think it would be necessary to give a short sketch what friendship and connections, our forefathers, and we, have had with the western tribes.

The Delawares, who we calld Wenaumeeu, are our Grand-fathers according to the ancient covenant of their and our

ancestors, to which we adhere without any deviation in these near 200 years past, to which nation the Five Nations and British, (after finding themselves incapable of completeing a union of all who has one colar,) have commit the whole business. For this nation had the greatest influence with the southern, western, and northern nations.

The Shawannese, who we calld Weshauwonnoow, are our younger brothers according to ancient covenant between our forefathers—for our ancestors, near 200 years ago rescued them from the mouth of many nations, as well as of the Five Nations who were ready to swallow my younger brother Shawany, for which kind deliverance they ever have felt themselves under the greatest obligation to obey our voice—and many nations had knowledge of this.

The Miamies, who we calld Wemaumeew, are our grandchildren according to an ancient covenant between our forefathers, which friendship their and our fathers have maintained, and in every few years they renew this covenant, and have given to our forefathers a large tract of land, &c.

The Monthees, who we calld Wemintheew, and the Wenuhtokowuk and Kuhnauwautheew, are our brothers according to ancient agreement, to which we ever have stood stedfast.

The Wyondots, who we calld Paumtonnauweew, are our uncles.

The Ottawas, who we calld Wetuwaw.—The Chepawas we calld Wechippawaw—Potawatommeew, Wethaukeew, Misquuhkeew, Wenautwuhtheew, Wawyuhtonnoow, Kecipoo and Pasakeah, are our grandchildren—these nations ever maintain good friendship with our nation—our nation had a great influence with these nations, &c.

It was the business of our fathers to go around the towns of these nations to renew the agreements between them,



and tell them many things which they discover among the white people in the east, &c.

Myself and my brother set out from Philadelphia, May 10th. We arrived Tiog Point on the 17th, at which time the people told us that the chiefs of the Seanacas, Onondagas, and Cayagas had just gone from that place. As I well knew the ways of these nations, and as General Chapin is newly appointed by congress to take the charge of the Five Nations, I concluded that they will stop at Canadaque several days, and that General Chapin will oblige to wait upon them. Then I dispatch my brother to go cross the woods to Onieda to fetch my bag of peace, in which there is ancient wampom, and to get two of my best counsellors and a young men to meet me at Chapins, in order to have them with us, that the western nations may see that we are upon important business, and that in case we should meet some difficulties, five of us could help one another, and that if some cruel hostile Indians should fall upon us, and be too strong for us, so that we should fall, some of my spry young men could get away, and bring the tidings of the same to the United States. For these reasons, as well as other reasons, I desired to have my own company, and they did meet me at Canadaque, while General Chapin was busy with the Five Nations. After the Senacas left Canadaque, Brant arrived. I conversed with him several times. When he finds that I had a message from the United States to the western tribes, he tells me that it would be adviseable to let the British send this message to the western nations, for, says he, the Indians will hear quicker by the English, and that the British could get there sooner by water, but I gave him no answer. On the 4th of June then General Chapin had liberty, and on the 6th of June we set out, and arrived at Buffalo Creek on the 10th, and General Chapin arrived on the 12th of the inst.—by this time the Senacas have sent their runners to invite the Mo-

hawks and all the chiefs who resides at Grand River, to attend a general Council, that all may hear news from the United States, also to Allegany; and on the 13th we held a Council with them—we in the first place delivered complimentary speeches to each other.

I then deliver some information to the Senacas in the following words:—

Uncle, attend to a few words:—

I rejoice that by the goodness of the Great Spirit you are safely arrived at your fire place, and that this day we sit together to smooke our pipes in a friendly manner.

Uncle—

In three days after you left Philladelphia a messenger arrived with a message of the Seven Nations of Canada, to let the United States know that they the Seven Nations were invited by the Western Tribes to attend a great Council on Miamie, and that they are about to rise and go accordingly, but for fear of one thing, lest the United States should think that these Seven Nations are gone to join the hostile nations in war—therefore they sent this information to the United States, and that their intention is to endeavour to bring the hostile Indians to peace—and that they are to meet the Five Nations at this place, Buffaloe Creek, from here they the Seven Nations, with you the Five Nations, are to set out to Miamie; that if the United States approve of this intention, then they shall go with good courage—then the great man of the United State reply and declared that they highly approve of that intention—and the messenger stayed only two days—then he returned with all speed—so much on this subject.

Uncle, attend—

The great men of the United States are sensible of this, that it will be many days before the Seven Nations with you the Five Nations could get ready to set out; and having such earnest desire of peace with the Western In-

dians, which the Indians should be informed as soon as possible, lest the war will grow hotter, so that no man could quench it, therefore they sent a message by me on the same subject, and I have come with the message thus far. Another reason for which they wished that this message should go with all speed, is this—that they have dispatched officers from Ohio, to go and give the same information to the Indians, and that the Indians should know that they the officers are coming that they may use them kindly; and that General Putnum is also appointed to go and meet the Indians at Fort Jefferson for peace; now lest the Indians should misunderstand the design of General Putnum—the United States wished that this message should go with all speed, that it may reach at the Council before the other messages arrives.

Uncle—

By this information, and by what you know yourselves, you can clearly see that this message is very urgent. This is all I got to say.

And in few minutes after—then Farmers brother speak and rehearse what I have told them, then he says—

Nephew—

I and all the rest of the chiefs and warriors rejoice that you are come and have set with us this day, and we all heartily thank you for your kindness in giving us such information—and we will call for our brothers and neighbours—the Onondagas and Cayogas, to acquaint them this information—and will consult with them—and then you shall hear our voice.

On the 14th, they accordingly met in council. In the evening they come to conclusion how to send message by me, and then adjourn untill to-morrow morning.

Next day the 15th, they met again, (news having reached in their ears, how that their warriors have killed two of the western Delawares, which news change their notions,

were afraid that the western nations will fall upon them and cut them off, for this occasion they are willing to let us go before them.)

Then the Onondaga chief repeat the message which they wished to send by me. After this—the Farmers Brother speak to us.

Nephew—

To-morrow you must meet with us, for we wished to have our speech in writing, &c.

In the morning of 16th we met with them, then Farmers Brother delivered five strings of wampom—and desired me to write his speech and deliver it to the western Delawares.

The following words—

Nephews of Delawares on Miamie, attend the words of your uncles the Five Nations—

I am very sorry that some of my foolish young men have been led astray by the big knives, consequently have killed two of their nephews.

Nephew—

Be assured, that we do not approve of this conduct, for we have no desire to take up hatchet against you, or any of our own color, but the fool when he is drinking strong liquor will go astray—I have calld all such to return home.

Nephew—

Let us remember that troubles will unavoidably meet us, and that different kinds—therefore Nephew, do not lay up in your heart what has happened, as tho I do this on purpose.

Nephew—

Be assured, that I will show you greater friendship, and I now wipe of your tears which runs down your cheeks—we all very sorry with you.

Five strings of wampom delivered.

Then Red Jacket speak with other strings of wampom, and said—

Nephew, attend—

I now sent these words—compose your minds in peace—in a few days you will see your uncles the Five Nations—then we shall settle all the difficulties subsisting between us, and will inform you of every thing what I have heard, and what lays on my mind; and you will see my friendship toward you, and to all our friends. We are waiting for the Seven Nations of Canada—we expect them daily, as soon as they arrive we will held a little council, then we go to your place.

Strings of wampom delivered.

Then I reply, and say—

Uncle—

I am happy to find that you are so engaged for the well-fare of your nephews, as well as your own nations; and you may rest assured that I will go on with your message as well as the other messages—and will do all I can for you, so that when you arrive your nephews may be pacified, &c.

Then we disperse—we went to our quarters. The next day 17th, we set out to go to the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, about six miles from the castle, General Chapen is to meet us there. When we arrived at that place, we, General Chapen with his interpreter, Mr. Parrish, and all the principal chiefs of Sanacas, who came thus far to bid us farewell, And they then ask to set with them for few minutes. Then I ordered my companions to set together—then the Red Jacket begin to speak to us—on the following words:—

Nephew—

We come to bid you farewell, I hope that you will exert yourself, and your young men to go on with great courage and resolution—and our hearts are with you—we wish your undertaking will be crowned with great success—we must look to the Great Spirit—he can help us—and if he helps us all things will com right.

Nephew—

In a few days we hope to see you, and I hope that you will inform your friends; the western nations, all the knowledge you have of our desires for peace—and we desire you to use your utmost endeavours for us among the western Indians. I hope that Spirit will protect you. Then they came and shake hands with us around—and set down again.

Then I reply, and say—

Uncles—

I am happy to find that you are so friendly as to come thus far to give us your complements, I rejoice to find that our minds and desires are one.

Uncles—

I heartily thank you for the exhortation you gave us, we will endeavour to keep the same in our hearts—we will endeavour to put our whole trust in the Great Spirit who overrules all. I hope when we live to see each other again that we will rejoice together. This all I got to say.

Then General Chapin speak to us, and said—

Brothers—

I would just speak one word, I am glad that Great Spirit so ordered that you are so united, and that you are about to set out for a long and tedious journey, for an important business, and I hope that the Great Spirit will protect you and bless you abundantly, that your means will cause many to rejoice—and I hope that I may live to see you again and rejoice with you.

In the 18th we set out from the mouth of Buffalo Creek, to go north side the Lake Erie, and in the evening of the 19th we arrive at the inlet of Grand River; next morning the 20th the N. west high wind arose, and find that we could not with safety go on, and oblige to wait. But I thought that it would be adviseable to send for Captain Aaron who resides up this river, and get him to go with

us as a pilot; then I dispatched my runners, with three strings of wampom, on the following words:—

Cousin, attend—

Do remember our friendship, and what conversation we have had several times last fall, and what we have concluded last spring.

Cousin—

Consequently, I now reach your hand, and lead you on the path that leads from Delaware Village, which comes in this lake about thirty-six miles from here, there you will meet us. You must not stay to look others first, but as fast as you can swing your pack, then take steps to meet us.

In the 21st of the inst. the wind cease, then we set out again, and in the 22d we arrived at the place appointed, and in the 23d, my runners arrived with my cousin, Captain Aaron, and one of the Monthees chief, who wished to hear some news. Then I told him some news, and after that, I then deliverd an answer to their speech, with regard of the invitation they gave us last spring. I begin in those words.

My friends, attend—

We have considered your speech to us last spring. We rejoice to find that you have such concern for us as a nation—that you have reached our hand, and lead us to a place where you thought we may set down.

My friends—

I find that our eyes are not fully open—we could not see things clear, for the reason of high winds and dark clouds—therefore I could not gave you a positive answer.

Friends—

Compose your minds in peace and exercise patience. By and by we shall see things clear. When the wind cease and clouds are removed, and the earth lay in silence, then we shall be able to contemplate this subject better; then I shall gave you a positive answer.

My friends, brothers, and cousin—

We heartily thank you for your great concern for us. This is all I have to say.

Six strings of wampom delivered.

On the 24th, we set out, but the wind soon arose again, and we were obliged to stop. And in the 25th we set out again. After rowing about half a day, the wind begin to blow, so we went on—sometimes we were obliged to stop two days—untill the 2d of July we got a little more than half way.

This Captain Aaron has been with Brant on the Miamie, several times; and has been there this spring for Brant. Brant before he went to Philladelphia, he sent a message to the western Indians, by this Aaron and three other Indians—one of them is Brant's nephew, named Tawalooth. Part of the message was to ask the western nations whether they would approve of Brant's going among the big knives; and three days after they left Grand River, this Tawalooth begin to say that he is the head of that company, and that he will deliver the messages of his uncle, to the western Indians. The others say nothing; and as they pass by, in every village he told that the whole of the Six Nations are about geting ready to go and assist the western nations in war—that every man, and even boys who could lift a gun, and old men who could walk, will go—also all the warriors of the Seven Nations. This Tawalooth having brought such news in the ears of these nations, they expected nothing else but war, and were greatly encouraged—see what hurt this message, or this Tawalooth has done.

And in the 3d of July we were oblidge to leave our nice, white birch bark canoe on Bull-head Creek, and went by land and arrived at Delaware Castle in the evening. This village stands on the banks of river Trench. Monthees and some Chipawas live here, who were happy to see us, and told us all the news. Among other things they inform us



that forty of their warriors went to assist the hostile Indians. These Indians of this village have not been engaged in war, they moved on this place to shun the troubles of war, but by the news of Tawalooth, and by what message the Shawanese have sent, they went. And in the 4th of the inst. I bought another bark canoe and some provision. Then we set out and went down this river, and in the evening of the 5th inst. we arrive at the town of Christian Indians, commonly called Moravian Town. These Indians were very glad to see us, and told us many things respecting the western tribes, &c. And in the 6th we set out again—and in the 7th we arrive at Lake St. Clair—and in the 9th we arrive at Detroit. Here we see several Indians from Miami, and they were very glad to see us, and told us good a deal of news; and here we see three of the Cayogas, who have been living among the hostile nations. The Shawanese now sent these three to hasten the Five Nations—here they were waiting for vessel. Then we set out again, and in the evening of the 13th we arrived at the grand council fire, called the Rapids, about eighteen miles from the mouth of this Miami river. Here two towns stand—one of which are Delawares—here Captain Pipe resides—and the other is Montees. We have passed by several small villages along the lake. As soon as the Montees discovered us, they sent runners to lead us into one of their council houses, to stay over the night, and were happy to see us, and they did dance for us.

And early in the morning of the 14th, one old man came to us who used to live to the eastward. And he led us to his camp among the camps of Shawanese—who just arrived yesterday in order to get some provisions; for there was a sore famine in their towns. And this day all nations who reside along this river are expected. Here stands Colonel M'Kee's house, and stores for the Indians. But he was not at home—was gone to Canada—but Captain Elliot takes

the charge of these provisions. And here we see three other of the British. Here we find one of the chiefs of Muhheacconnuk, named Pohquonnoppeet, who has been with these nations ever since he was a boy. He is well acquainted with all these nations, in their customs and dispositions—who has long to see us—who has been strengthen our messages these several years. And in the afternoon, part of the chiefs of Delaware, (who lives about sixty miles up this river,) sent word to us that they will meet us by and by.

Accordingly they came in our camp. Then the Sachem named Tautpuhqtheet begin to speak to us, on the following words.

My grandchildren, attend—

Here we meet together—the Great Good Spirit has thought and have fixed this day that we should meet together.

Grandchildren—

You have come from great way off to see and visit us—you have seen many dismal objects for which your tears dropping down. Our good ancestors did hand down to us a rule or path where we may walk. According to that rule I now wipe off your tears from your eyes and face that you may see clear. And since there has been so much wind on the way that the dust and every evil things did fill your ears, I now put my hand and take away the dust from your ears, that you may hear plain—and also the heavy burden on your mind I now remove, that you may feel easy, and that you may contemplate some objects without burden.

Grandchildren—

Here you find your poor grandfather which has met with many difficulties—yet I am rejoiced to see you. You have waded thro many miry places and briers on your journey. I now wash your legs and wipe them clean, and I pull all briers which stick on your legs and feet—and then I take the nicest weesqui, which contains the pure oil, and put the same on your legs and feet that you may feel easy.

This all I have to say—four white strings of wampom 3 feet long deliverd.

Then they arose and shake our hands, to confirm their friendship to us.

Few minutes after this—

Then I rehearse his speech and then deliver a congratulatory speech as answer, to manifest my friendship to them as they did to us, on the following words.

Grandfather, attend—

I am happy to reflect how that the Great Good Spirit has so ordered that our forefathers have found the way to maintain such friendship between them—and that we met each this day, and that on your part you have manifested your kindness to us.

Grandfather—

Here we meet together in a dismal state, and you have put a great comfort on my mind, for which I heartily thank you.

Grandfather—

As I come to you, when I beheld your face, I saw your tears flowing down, for the reason of much difficulties and crosses. I now put my hand on your face and wipe off your tears, so that you may see things clear, and that to a great distance.

Grandfather—

Since there is so much wind, and much dust flying about, your ears are stop'd, you are almost deaf. But I now stretch my hand and take away all the dust from your ears, that you may now hear. And I also put my hand and clean your throat, and take away all heavy burdens which hangs on your mind, and cast it away, that you may now understand what is good for your children, and that you may have comfort.

Grandfather—

When I beheld your garments, I saw blood by reason of

war, which I now wipe away. Also your beds, I clean them that you may set with ease.

Six white strings of wampom delivered.

After this, the sachem heartily thanked us. Then, says he, I should be glad to hear some news from the east. And then I informd him that my nation live in peace—and that the great men of the United States wished to live in peace with all Indians—and that there is some wars among the great people over the great waters—and that negroes also have cut off many of their masters—which the Indians glad to hear—and I tell them that I would inform them further as soon as they can all meet together. Then they desire Pohquonnoppeet to acquaint us every thing.

The Shawannese sent word to us to let us know that they will set with us as soon as they get ready.

I then begin to consult with some of the principal chiefs and with Pohquonnoppeet, with regard of the message of the United States. Before this, there was not one man to be found that would speak in favour of the United States. But after I conversed with them, then they began to speak well—and finally they thought it would not do for me to deliver this message to Shawannese, who will make confusion; but, says they, delivered to other chiefs first—let them take hold of it first—then the Shawanese may see it and many other things they mention.

And on the 16th of July then they all met together in a Council. Then they call us in, and we went, and there we saw Captain Eliot and the other British set with the Indians.

Then the Chief of Shawanese begin—he first demand the attention of all who are present. Then he said—

Elder brother, Muhheunneew—

We now speak in one voice to you—we all rejoice that you have come to us—you have taken great pains to come on the long and tedious journey. Our ancestors have long ago

fixed our friendship which we ever maintain—and it is so ordered by the Great Good Spirit that we this day see each other after a great length of time, and that we now set together.

Elder brother—

For many sad objects you are grieved, and your tears running down so that you could hardly see—and we now wipe away your tears that you may look about and see things plain.

Elder Brother—

By the reason of high winds and storms your ears are stop'd—that is to say, woow choow khun mautehk—which we now take out—which the wind shall drive away, that you may hear plain every thing that may reach your ears.

Elder brother—

For the reason of many sorrowful objects as well as tidings, you are grieved—in your heart full of sorrow. And as our good forefathers have handed us down a path to walk in, we now take all the burden from your mind, and clean your whole body, and set your heart, as it was fixed by the Good Spirit, that you may have comfort, and have a good understanding.

Elder brother—

Here you find us, your poor friends, in a dismal state—we just rejoice to see each other. This is all we have to say.

Two white and four purple strings of wampom delivered.

After this I then rehearse their speech and heartily thank them for it.

Then I deliver the following speech to them.

You, the Shawannese, my younger brother, you likewise grandfathers, and all who are here present attend—

I rejoice that by the goodness of the Good Spirit we now meet this day, where we may put each other in mind

of our ancient friendship—which on your part you have already done, which gladdens my heart.

My younger brother, and all who are here presend—

I, the Muhheunconneew, after viewing your situation, have found you in a gloomy state, now for the reason of many misfortunes and dark clouds I see your tears flowing down, so that you could see but duskily. But according to our friendship, I now wipe away your tears, and open your eyes that you may see clear and discern what is good.

Younger brother and all friends—

For the reason of high winds the dust has filled your ears, for which you could not hear. I now clean your ears also, that you may hear plain when you attend to the welfare of your children.

Younger brother and all friends—

For the reason of your dismal views, in your heart there is sorrow, and of all sort evil things, so that you could not understand things right—but I now take hold of all these evil and heavy things and cast them away, which the strong wind will drive away, and clean all inside. I set your heart aright, as it was fixed by our good forefathers in ancient days, that you may now understand both what is good and bad—and that you may contemplate the welfare of our own colar—that our mornings may be lengthened.

Younger brother and all friends—

When I beheld you, I saw blood on your garments on account of war—by the means of some bad white people like these who are present with us; (I point at Captain Elliot and his company,) but I now take away all this, and wipe your garments clean, and also your beds that you may set down with ease. This is all.

Six strings of wampom delivered—three strings pure white, and other three mixed.

I then informed them that I have brought three mes-

sages for them from the Five Nations—one of which is written speech, which Onondaga chief sent by us, inclosed in a letter to Captain Elliot, from Colonel Butler, who wrote the speech from this chief, and desired Elliot to have it interpreted to the Indians, which I then deliver to Elliot, and then I delivered the other two myself according the desire of the Senacas. And after I got thro', then these nations thank us, and arise to shake our hands as a confirmation of our ancient friendship.

After this. Then according the advise of our friends and the way I judge to be best, we proceeded in the first place we disperse, then we met again. I then faithfully deliver the message of the United States. In the first place I begin with an introductory speech, on the follow words.

My friends—

In order to have you to understand our business, I will acquaint you some things of our situation, lest you may have wrong apprehension. Since the British and Amaricans lay down their hatchets, then my nation was forgotten. We never have had invitation to set in Council with the white people—not as the Five Nations and you are greatly regarded by the white people—but last winter was the first time I had invitation from the great man of the United States to attend Council in Philladelphia. According to that invitation I went—and after we arrived at Philadelphia, I find that the business was for the wellfare of all nations—and then I was asked whether I would carry a message of peace to you here. I then reply that I would—for I know that it would look unfriendly to you, had I refuse to bring good tidings, and so for the sake of our good friendship, and for peace, I was willing to take this long journey, &c.

Then I begin with the message, and take up the seven strings of wampom, on the following words.

Sachems and head warriors of Delawares, and the whole of the confederate nations.

Brothers attend—

We the 15 sachems of the United States will now in one voice speak to you—we speak from our hearts—where there is a burden of sorrow.

It is very uncertain thing how our voice of peace may reach your ears—It has been feared that our word of peace has not reached your ears, but has fallen and been burried under ground, or gone into the air by means of malignant birds.

Brothers—

We the 15 sachems, do now send our message of peace, by your own colar, and friend of Muhheaconnuk who we trust will faithfully delivered to you, and will impartially acquaint you, according to his best knowledge with regard to the dispositions of the United States—

Brothers—

You the sachems of the whole confederacy will not regard the voice of flying birds—be it known to you, that we, the 15 sachems, have never believed such, although we have seen and heard various kinds, which have had different heads—

And further you the sachems of the confederacy have never consulted together and agreed with an intend of speaking to some other nation deceitfully—Brothers, be assured that the 15 United Sachems have never done such, for we scorn to speak from the lips only.

Seven strings of white and purple wampom delivered, near 4 feet long.

Then I take up the belt and begin with these words—

Brothers of the whole Confederacy—

We have informed you that we speak from our hearts and in sorrow—because there are difficulties subsisting between you and the Big Knives—

Brothers—

Be it known to you all, that we the 15 Sachems have no



desire to quarrel with you—but on the contrary we sincerely wish to have lasting peace established.

Brothers—

We have tender affections for our Children, women, young men and old parents. We wish to promote their happiness. You likewise brothers, have great regard for your children, women, young men, and old parents. You wish them many good mornings and evenings—in this we are alike.

Brothers—

We, the united sachems, now stretch our hand to reach your hand, and lead you at the first place, Fort Jefferson, where you will meet one of our great man, that you there may agree where you will chose to have a treaty on Ohio—where we may use our utmost endeavours to establish happiness for our Children.

Brothers—

As we have not believed the various reports of many birds, we still look to you—when you speak to us we will attend. If the Big Knives have done any injuries to you, you must manifest it to us. Or if our servants have wronged you in any matter, or have defraud you with regard to your Lands, you must inform us the same. Then we shall endeavour to remove these burdens from your minds that you may rejoice.

Brothers—

Had we not used means to remove all difficulties so as to put an end to the war, the great Nations over the great waters would find fault with us. You likewise, brothers, if you do not regard or comply with what we now offer to you, the great Nations, who resides behind you, will afterwards blame you.

Brothers—

As soon as you comply with terms of peace, the forts which stands on your Lands shall fall—and if you are di-

sirous for peace, you must instandly call in all your war parties. With respect to the Big knives, they are not to be compared to our least fingure. We will hold them fast, and they shall not stir untill we let them lose.

Brothers—

We have now spoken so much to you—we will stop—and listen—when after all patience, we could not hear a word from you—Then we thought or conclude the reports of many birds are certainly true.

A large belt of wampom delivered, which contains 15 rows, and in the middle there is 15 square marks, which denote 15 United sachems, and path of peace goes thro the marks—the belt is purely white, except the marks and the path—near 4 feet long.

Then I say—Grandfathers and all friends—

I have deliverd you a great Message in your hands, and you must exert yourselves, and consider it seriously—and do remember our children, women, young men, and old people, and take the wisest part; and as I am here with you, I will endeavour to assist you as far as I can.

Then Hobakon, or Pipe-Sachem of Delawares, speak to us, and said—

Grandchildren—

You have brought to us a great good Message from the great people, for which we heartily thank you—and you may rest assured that we will exert ourselves to promote peace, and to-morrow you shall hear us again—we will consult among ourselves to-day and to-morrow, &c. (These nations could not get together so as to have a grand Council as it was proposed last winter, on account of the scarcity of provisions—many were oblided to be gone in the woods to stay the whole of the summer; and the back nations, to wit, Wyondots, Ottawas, Chepawas, Potawatommées do reside north from here, and that a great distance. And the Wethaukeew, Misquohkeew, Wenautwuhtheew, Pasakeah, .

Kekipoo, and Wawyuhtonnoo, resides N-west from here Miamie.

These what I call back nations, or nations resides behind.)

And on the 17th, they held a Council the whole day, and early in the morning of the 18th. Then the Sachem Pipe came to us in order to acquaint us what was pastd yesterday, on the following words:—

Grandchildren—

We the principal Sachems and Heroes, have consulted all day yesterday, and I was ordered to inform you our conclusions.

Grandchildren—

We are all happy to hear the good Message you brought to us. We have taken hold of it, and encourage one another to promotit. For we never receive such pure good Message from the Big knives.

Our head Heroe, named Puckonchehluh, delivered speech to the Sachems and Chiefs, on the following words:—

My Sachems—

I now exhort you, and desire you to do your best—you have wisdom, and you have understanding to manage all our affairs, especially the welfare of our Children. This Message is for our good, it is pure message, for which you must exert yourselves, and do that which may be for the best; that our Children, women, young men may be benefited. For this Message is the Life of all our Nations, for which I will submit to whatever you agreed, &c. After this the Sachems concluded to send and deliver this good Message to the Sachems of Wyondots first, then they will call in the greater Nations, for they are head of three nations, (viz.) Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommeees. For we know that these nations will receive and accept this Message Joyfully. Then we shall stand strong and sure; after this we will meet at the Glaze or Forks. There we shall meet in

a great council. Then every Nation will declare that they have received such Message and accepted of it, and then offer the same to Shawannese, who will then be obliged to submit; if not, then every nation must teach them, and chastise them; if that will not do, then they will be abandoned.

Grandchildren—

These are our conclusions. Compose your minds in peace. In a few days we will hear from these back nations. I think we will have clear days by and by, if the Big knives do not interfere.

(This all.)

In the 24th of the inst. we set out with the Indians to go up at the Forks, or Naukhuwwhnauk, where the Shawannese, Delawares, and part of the Miamies had towns; we went up by water. In the evening of the 26, we heard alarming voice a great way, and soon heard little ways; although it was exceeding dark, yet in a few minutes we hear a horse running, and reached to us in our Camp; then we soon find that he is a Shawanney after he breath little; then we ask him the news, then told us the Big Knives arrived at Kekiog; then he set out again. Then I tell the company this news I think is false, &c.

On the 27th we arrived at the first Village of Shawannese. The Sachem of this place acquainted us a good deal of news among other things he told us that three of Kuttoohwauw Nation or Cherekes arrived at the Forks yesterday, and have brought some writings which they took on their way.

The next day we arrived at the Forks. At this place the other two villages of Shawanny stands; also one of the towns of Delawares, and the town of Wenuhtukowuk, and some out cast Cherekes, and part of the Miamies, and about 8 miles from this place the town of Big Cat stands—this town is last that stands on this river.

The Kuhnauwautheew also resides here; at which place,

Pohquonnoppeet and his friends live at, at which place we were to stay, but we been obliged to stop at the Forks, (commonly called by British, Glaze,) because one of my Counsellors was taken sick.

Having bought some corn from the French traders at the rapids, which we brought up by water—we lived here by ourselves. Our friends here having nothing to give us to eat, and we were obliged to give them; here I had a large family; at this place we find several traders of French people, and few English. These traders had some bread to sell, and I was obliged to give 4s. for a 2lb. loaf, and 8s. per one quart of salt, and that several times; and among these Nations, some had corn to spare at the rate of 2s. per quart.

Here, according to my wish, did converse with the Indians almost every day. My friends advise me not to say much to the Shawanese untill all the Nations had agreed.

On the 29th, I met one of the English traders; he asked me whether I was the man that brought the Message of the U. S. I tell him yes. He then says, I wish the Indians could live in peace; this unhappy war ruins them, and almost undone us the traders also; the Indians could not hunt much, and if the army come again then we shall be undone.

In the 30th, the sachems of Delawares invited us to attend a council with them; at the same time informd us that two of the Cherekes brought Alarming Voice yesterday that the Big knives are discovered near fort Jefferson.

The first of August. To day, 16 Warriors are sent to see whether the terrible Voice yesterday is true, &c.

At this time I went up to Big Cat's town with my brother; arrived there in the evening, went in the house of Pohquonnoppeet, the sachem—the Delawares having left word that we should give them notice of my coming. Early in the morning of the 2d inst. my Uncle sent a runner to in-

form the Chiefs that we were arrived, and will meet them in Council. My business was to comfort Big Cat for the death of his Brother who died last Spring; he was the Chief Sachem of the Delawares; also Pukonchehluh for the death of his Son. According to ancient custom in such cases, long as they are not comforted, they are not to speak in public, and this ceremonie of comforting each other is highly esteemed among these Nations.

Then we met them in council after drawing the smoak thro our nostrils. Then I got up and begin on the following words:—

Grand father, attend—

It is by the goodness of the Great Good Spirit we are meet together—so many of us the remnant of our ancesstors, to smoak our pipes and to put each other in mind of our ancient friendship. We are in a dismal State; we can only pity each other, at the same time we can rejoice to see each other. I have met with some difficulties on the way; one of my Counsellors is taken sick, who I left at the forks with the other two of my companions.

I am not waiting the motions of other nations in doing the business, which I will perform this time.

Grandfather—

We the poor remnant of our ancesstors are met together. Our good fathers have left good customs, and path to go by, so that in all occasions we are to put each other in remembrance of the ancient Customs of our fathers as well as the friendship.

Grandfather—

Here you have meet with many troubles; in this we are all alike.

Grandfather—

You have meet great losses; your great Sachem is fallen, and also some of your principal young men. The sound

of which stopd your eyes and ears; your tears flowing down, and that continually; and for which reason you could not look up.

Grandfather—

Having seen you in such a situation, I without delay arise and come, and now put my hand to your face and wipe off your tears and open your Eyes, so that you may now see the sun when it rises, also when it sets down, and also other things, and that you could see your Grandchildren in a clear light; also I clean your Ears that you may hear distinctly. And I clean your throat also; and loosen your Tongue, that you may now speak, and that freely. And there is such a weight of sorrow causes your heart to hang up side down, but I now remove these burdens, and set your heart aright, that you may contemplate the welfare of your Children, and that with pleasure.

Six strings of white wampom delivered.

Grandfather—

Many troubles has attended us. You have lost your great Sachem; also some honourable young men, who have fallen, and lay under the earth ever since last Spring. I now remember what our good ancestors used to teach us their Children. And I now gather the bones of these deceased, and put them together, and take up the lasting Plank and put it over the grave, that the heat of the Sun may not penetrated and that the rain may not flow into them. (Nunneh *this is all.*)

A belt deliverd, contains ten rows, has three marks across, near three feet long.

This nation had delivered speech to my nation twice before—as a query whether my nation would accept the plan of Union. At this time I deliverd an answer.

Grandfather, once more attend—

As you have always paid great regard to our friendship—

*Samuel Smith*

You have spoken to me with regard of Union, whether I would take hold of it—with respect to this, my Grandfather, I now speak to you.

It is a happy thing that we should maintain a Union. But to us it is not a new thing. For our good Ancestors, (who used to have compassion to each other,) many, many years ago, have agreed to this. And we, who are of their desendance, should not hisitate, or, as it were, ask one another whether we should like it. But we must always remind each other how our ancestors did agree on this Subject, that we may never forgo that.

Six strings of white wampom Delivered.

After this, the Head Heroe, whose name is Puckonchehluh, got up with the strings and belt, and said, how happy a thing it is that we have met together. I and all of us feel rejoiced in our minds to hear you, my Grandchildren.

You have reminded your poor Grandfather many good things, which our good ancestors used to esteem, and you have gavin us great Comfort for these things. Your Grandfathers, the Chiefs, Young men, women, and Children, now heartily thank you.

Then he take up the last Six strings, and said, I am glad, Grandchild, that the great Good Spirit allow us to hear your voice this day. It is very true and we must acknowledge it that our friendship has been long ago fixed sure, by our good forefathers, who used to pity each other in their calamities, and that we ought to renew this friendship always. For this also we all heartily thank you. Wautokheethmellon, &c. grandchild.

After this he then wipe away the sweat from our face, &c. Six strings of white wampom delivered.

At this time I felt unwell, but made out get thro this business.

Next day, the 3d inst. we went back again to the Forks



—next day I grow worse. On the 7th, one old warrior of Delaware came from Detroit, and told us that the Wyandots and Ottawas, are about to arise to come up, on account of a false Alarming Voice, which Shawannese brought to them some time go. And further he told us that five men of Potawatommies, came to let the Shawanny know that the back nations are raising one thousand warriors, in order to assist the Sawannese to fall upon the forts, (which was a false story.)

Another bad story he told—that sometime ago the N. west Nations collected, according to an invitation of the Big knives, on Wabash river. These nations were desirous to get their friends clear—which the Big knives kept as prisoners—but before the Big knives could meet these nations, one devillish Frenchman privately called all the Head Warriors, and advised them to go home every one; for, say he, the Big knives are coming and will kill every one of you. It is better for you to lose your friends, who are kept as Captives among the Big knives, than that you should all be killed. I told you this, because I love you, my Children.

Strings of wampom delivered.

By this account, all these nations dispersed immediately.

On the 8th, Big Cat come to our quarters. He then conversed with us. Among other things I proposed this—that it is necessary for the Nations to send information to Fort Jefferson, to acquaint General Putnum that the nations have, sometime ago, received the Message of the U. S.—that the Message is gone to the back Nations, who are expected to be here in a few days—that General Putnum may lengthen his patience. He then said it is a very good thing—I have this mind. And he informed me that the Chepawas have sent one of their runners, who arrived last evening, to acquaint the Chiefs that they, the Chepawas and their alies, have recived the good Message of the U. S.

And, says the Chepawas, we take hold of it on our right hands—and the Message of Shawanese, we hold it in our left hand—and we will go to the Forks—and then we shall show the same to Shawanees and will ask them, which of these two Messages is best—then we will throw their Message to their face—then we will take hold of the Message of the U. S. with both hands, &c.

And he informd me many other things, respecting the different Nations and the conduct of the British these many years. Among other things, he told me how the British inquire of our Business. Says he, two days after you deliver the Message to us, Captain Eliot called us to meet him at his quarters. And, after we got there, he then ask me where these Indians come from, and what is their business, (he meant you, my Grandchildren.)

Then I replied, how came you to ask us such questions? Did you ever see me at Detroit or Niagara, in your councils, and there to ask you where such and such white man come from? or what is their Business? Can you watch, and look all around the earth to see who come to us? or is what their Business? Do you not know that we are upon our own Business? and that we have longed to see these our friends, who now come to us, and for which we rejoice?

Then, says he, Eliots mouth was stopd immediately. Then the other chiefs laugh at him to scorn, and tell him, you have a proper answer, &c.

After this we agreed to send information to Fort Jefferson, and that we will meet at Big Cat's Town. And, on the 11th, then I sent Captain David Neshoonhuk, my counsellor, and John Wautuhqnaut, one of my young men, to see whether the Big Cat is ready to send runners to Fort Jefferson. The next day they got back again, and told me the Delawares are nearly ready, but waiting for their spies—as soon as they return then they will send.

On the 14th of the inst. an Alarming Voice reached us that the Big knives had come down, about one days walk, this side the fort, and have killed three of the Delawares.

I was now obliged to use my utmost endeavours to convince the Chiefs respecting the moderation of the United States. Thier chief arguments, and mine, I shall mention afterwards. I had many oppurtunities to have talks with many of these people.

In the 18th inst. the Shawanese, Miamies, out cast Cherekees, Delawares, held great frolick; according to the old Custom of Shawannese. In the 22 inst. then the frolic is ended. Captain Pipe having brought a written Message of the United States, which was brought to him at the rapids, and delivered to Puckonchehluh the great heroe, for which they met together in a council. And Puckonchehluh delivered the same to the Head Warriors of Shawannese, and said I deliver this Message to you for you to consider. The Big knives wished to know by whose means this war began; and I wished to hear your voice. If you will not speak, then I will. Then the Shawannese began to talk among themselves—at last they exposd their father, the British, in the following words.

A few years ago the English, in a Council, delivered the following speech to us. My children, attend. I have seen that the Big knives have taken all your living, all your lands, and that for nothing.

Children—

I now advise you to look out sharp, and do this—go upon your lands, and if you see horses or cattle, catch them and bring them to me, and I will buy them of you, and pay in money, goods or in rum, that you may have some benefit of your lands, and further, you may cut a piece of the flesh of the Big knives, or take prisiners and bring them to me, &c. the speaker says, I could show the wam-

pom of this speech—then says he, this speech induced me to do what I have done these several years past—After this, then they disperse.

In these days some these nations seemed much stupified by reason of a thousand stories. By this time the hostile party begin to lift up their heads, &c.

The Delawares hold Councils—the Heroes met by themselves—and the Sachems by themselves, in order to bring their opinions together; the Business under their consideration, is—the Message which Captain Pipe has brought and delivered to them. At last I ask some of the Chiefs whether they understand what the Message contains, they say no, then I ask where is the Message, they told me it is in the hands of Shawannese, then they begin to find fault in letting the Shawannese take the message; and one of the Sachems said I will fetch the Message to-morrow morning—then our Grandchildren will read the same for us. The next day, the 26 of the inst. he went to fetch the Message, but come back again without it, for the Shawannese had sent the same to Wapomshawuh or M'Kee, at the rapids, two days ago, but it will be brought back in two days time.

This Colonel M'Kee is half Shawanny, and the other British, exceeding good instrument for the British, &c.

On the 28th inst. Wūnummon or Vermillion, a Heroe, come to us, and told us that the Head warriors again held a council yesterday; that they speak of many things, and that they are sensible of this—that they could not maintain a war with the United States, and further say they, we ourselves have been in war—and we have a right to comply for peace—and here is our friends—we will let them know our determinations, and they can help us to make peace, for they are well acquainted with the ways of white people—and many other things they mentioned, &c.

On th 29th, to-day I sent Captain David with a runner

to see Big Cat, and to hear what they will do with regard of sending runners with information to Fort Jefferson, &c. The sixty warriors of Wyondots arrived yesterday.

At this time the Sachem, Tautpahqtheet, come to our quarters, and informd me that Simon Girty arrived yesterday from the rapids—that Colonel M<sup>c</sup>Kee has sent word that these nations may go down to get provisions; and he sent word that I should go down and see him. But I said, as I have not seen any token or Message in strings of wampom, or writing, nor Tobacco, I will not go—I am not to regard emty messages, &c.

I heard that the Seven Nations of Canada arrived at the rapids; but the Five Nations are not arrived yet, &c.

My Younger brothers, the Shawannese, are much stupified since last war, they are become very foolish and obstinate, and are very high for war. My Grandchildren, the Miamies likewise—The back Nations look at them with a jealous eye—Indeed, some of my friends have told me that the back Nations wished to see the Shawannese a one side by themselves, that they may fall upon them; and have washed their kittles to boil the Shawannese, so as to have good broth, &c.

On the first of September the Shawanese call a council, and they did meet the Delawares, Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherokees, Monthees, Wenuhtokowuk, Kuhnauwautheew, and Wyondots. Then the Shawannese delivered a Speech to the Wyondots. The substance of his speech is this:—

It would be best for the Confederacy to wait a few days longer, when all the back Nations arrives, then we shall be able to do some Business. After this, then they disperse. Previous to this council I gave orders to my friend, Captain Vermilion; (who understands the Wyondots and other languages,) to attend closely, &c.

On the 3d I went up to Big Cat's Village with one of

my young man, to see whether they had got ready to send runners with mine to Fort Jefferson, as it was agreed—arrived there about middle afternoon. Then my uncle, Poh-quonnoppest, sent his boy for Big Cat, and in few minutes he come in and happy to see us, and he immediately began to relate to us many things, which took up the whole after noon, and when he ended, then I begin to speak upon the Subject which I repeatly mentiond to them. Then he says we are ready, and we must do that business to-morrow. In this evening my friend Wenummon or Vermilion arrived from the Forks, and deliverd the following report to us:—

After the chiefs dispersed from the Council, (which was the 1st of September,) the Wyondots invited me to their camp, and there they inform'd me that they did not come to attend the Voice of Shawannese. But as we were passing by their town they said to us, here you must stay—But our intention was to go to our nephews, the Delawares, for we wished to hear their sentiments. But as for the voice of Shawannese, I put it under my feet, I do not regarded it.

And further says the Head Warrior of Wyondots—our Sachems have met with the Sachems of Chepawas, Ottawas, and Potawautommees, and in a council opened the strings and belt, the Message of the U. S. in order to manifest their minds to each other. And I myself speak, (says the Head warrior,) to my Sachems, in these words:—

Although I love to do evil things, am a mischevous man, yet since I heard such a good Message I immediately put away my tomhawk, and take hold this good Message with both hands, for I never had such a pure Message from the Big knives. I am sure that you my Sachems will be glad to take hold of it likewise, &c But before these great Sachems come to conclusion, to our surprise, an alarming Voice reached to our ears—that the Big knives are on their

march to fall upon the nations at the Forks, and have killed three of the Delawares.

Then the great Sachems says, we will cover this belt and strings in a blanket. They say to us, you the Head warriors and young men must now exert yourselves, and go see your friends at the Forks, and there you will find whether this terrible Voice is really true, &c. Then the Head Warriors also say to their Sachems, you the Sachems likewise must exert yourselves to consider this pleasant Message, &c.

On the 4th inst. early morning, the chiefs sent for us. Then we went and met them in a council at the house of Big Cat; and before we proceed on the business mentioned yesterday, we inform'd our Grandfathers the report of Captain Vermilion. Then the Chiefs and Heroes talk among themselves, and conclude to send Vermilion back again at the Forks, to inform the Wyondots what were the sentiments of Delawares, on the following words:—

Uncles—

You have wished to hear our sentiments, now attend. I find that it is best for our nations to send information to the great man of the United Sachems at the first fort. I say, inform him that we have received their Good Message of peace, and that we have forwarded it to the back Nations, and that we expect these nations in a few days, and that the sachems will meet him after we are all agreed, that he may lengthen his patience, and that he may hold fast the hostile Big knives, &c.

Then Vermilion set out for the Forks, and he is to return to-morrow, and he is ordered to tell the Head Warriors of Wyondots, that if they are not satisfied after hearing this proposal, then they must come, and they shall hear plainer, &c.

In the morning of the 5th, about 10 clock, he, the Ver-

million, got back again and said—although the Wyondots are well satisfied in hearing—yet they propose to come to-day, but they did not arrive untill the sun about one hour high. Then the Heroe, Puckunchehluh, informd the Wyondots that they could not do any business untill to-morrow. The Chiefs agreed how to deliver their sentiments. My uncle, Pohquonnoppeet, was well acquainted with the language of Wyondots—they appointed him to deliver their sentiments. Accordingly the next morning we met together in a council, and Pohquonnoppeet, the Sachem, speak for the Delawares, as he did many times; it was the same speech which was sent by Vermilion—But these words were added to it—

Uncles—

You now again hear my sentiments, and you are nearly concernd in these things, and you must now manifest your minds whether you approve of our design or not—whether you would likewise put your voice with ours, in sending information to fort Jefferson or not—and you must not only think I will hear my nephews, but you must exert yourselves and do the work for it belongs to you &c. Then the Heroes of Wyondots began to speak by themselves—some of them said let us do the same, some others say we had better go back first, may be by this time some of our Sachems are arrived, let us inform them first what we are about to do &c.

Then they reply—

Nephew—

We are very happy to hear your sentiments, we will return to our quarters at the Forks, and we will be here again after two nights, then we will manifest our sentiments to you &c. Then they set out five in number.

Then my Grandfathers said to us—

Grandchildren—

We will put off our business untill the Wyondots mani-



fest their opinions, for undoubtly they will speak in conjunction with us. Then you my Grandchild must be here with us, and write our speech to the great man at fort Jefferson. Then we also went back to our quarters at the Forks, and after two nights were expired I found that the Wyondots are not gone yet. But on the 10th inst. we went up to attend the proposed council—arrived there in the evening—and the next day some the chiefs come to our quarters at the house of Pohquonnoppeet—Then they informd me how the Wyondots have sent a message to them three days ago. The substance of their message is this—

Nephew—

We could not agree with your plan of sending a message to the Big knives; because many nations are on their way coming; if they should hear that you have sent message and have shaken hands with the Big knives, they would be displeased and would not come. At the same time nephew I sent our Tobacco to reach your hand and lead you here, for we wish to hear you further—and the Seven Nations arrived here yesterday—for that reason also we wish you to be here.

Our Grandfathers having been informed how that Simon Girty artfully led astray some the Head Warriors of Wyondots, also some of the Delawares—he had been acting like one of the Emisarys of the evil spirit—he advised them to contradict the sentiments of these chiefs, and put reasons in their mind to use why they could not agree. Accordingly, the Wyondots did not come as they promised, but sent one of the Delawares to deliver their Message. Then says the speaker, Our Head warrior Puckonchehluh, after hearing these things, got up and began to reply, and sent the following answer—

Uncles—

I shall not go according to the invitation you sent; for why should you wish to hear me further? Seeing you did not

regard my good sentiments—surely I will not say any thing further to you—But Wyondots, English, and the Five Nations, must now deeply consider. You gave me the tomhawk—You laid the foundation of our ruin—now you are setting still, as soon as you hear me speaking something of peace you are displeased. Why—because you live in a safe place—yonder. You use me as your front door, now let us exchange our seats, let me live or set yonder, and you set here as my front door see whether you would not rejoice to hear the offers of peace. And further, what is the reason you did not come according to your promise? I think it is for guilt, and you may depend upon it that I do not wish to hear the advise of Simon Girty, the White man, nor any of my nation who resides at the Forks, for they must not speak for the Wyondots &c. Then Poh-quonnoppeet got up and said—We have heard strange things from the Forks—I have brought Simon Girty and his brothers from Ohio—had I thought then, that this Simon, my prisoner or any of them, would hereafter creep about like a serpent to led poor Indians astray, by giving bad advise, and oppose the chiefs, and overthrow good things, I say had I thought this, I would in a moment knock their heads all to pieces, and would by no means suffer them to come among us, &c. After this then they dismiss the Messenger of Wyondots.

The Wyondots were divided one part of them held the opinion of Delawares.

On the 12th of September a Message of Colonel M'Kee brought at the Forks, which he sent by his son and nephew from the rapids, was interpreted in the language of Shaw-  
*See P 7*  
 amny. The substance of it is this.

My friends who resides at the Forks attend—

You seem to begin to be weary of doing your business—but I now exhort you to consider seriously what is best for you and your children.

My friends—

I now gave you a caution—there is Muhheconneew talking continually among you at the Forks. Do not mind what he says, for he is sent by the Big knives. If you do believe him, then you will be a miserable people, for then you will forfeit every thing—if the Muhheconneew had business other than from the Big knives, we could have heard it &c.

My friends—

I am coming, I shall now assist you, as I have promised three years ago. I did say at that time, that whatever the great King directed that I will do; now I have received his orders, every thing is ready for you, guns and ammunition, and cloathing, that you may stand strong against your enemies.

Then I said to my friends, that I could convince M'Kee that I have a lawful Business with you here—which his Masters will not forbid.

On the 13th Brant's messengers arrived, eleven in number. The Head of them called Tawalooth.

On the 17th inst. this Tawalooth, Brant's nephew, and now messenger, delivered a speech in a council. He informed the Shawannese and others that he is now come with ten men to assist these nations in war &c.

Then he delivered Brant's Message to these Nations. The substance of it is this.

My friends of the whole Confederate nations, who has one colar, attend—

I now send my voice to you, to let you know that I have wonderfully got thro from here to Congress and back again. I am much concernd for you but am lame and could not go at present—but will go and see you as soon as may be.

My friends—

I now tell you do not believe what Message the Muhheconneew brought to you, neither believe what he says,

if you do you will be greatly deceived. I have myself seen Washington, and see his heart and bowels; and he declared that he claims from the mouth of Miamie to the head of it—thence to the head of Wabash river, and down the same to the mouth of it; and that he did take up dust, and did declare that he would not restore so much dust to the Indians, but he is willing to have peace with the Indians, &c.

Previous to this, M'Kee had informed the Indians that he received a letter from Captain Brant. In this letter says M'Kee, Brant enquired of me, whether it is safe for him to come among you. Then I sent answer to let him know that it was my opinion there is no danger.

Brant as it were felt guilty for going alone to Congress, contrary to what he recommended to those nations, that no individual nation or person should go to speak to the Big knives, that if any do this, they or he must be abandoned.

This Tawalooth could speak the Shawany tongue, also some other languages, and he told many lies against us. Among other things he told the Indians that Muhheconneew have sent letters to the Big knives, to inform them that they have gained the attention of so many Nations—that the Big knives may now come and fall upon these Indians unexpectedly. This he told to frustrate peace, and that we may be hated or killed. He is a proper Liar or Emmissary of the Devil. He did hurt the feelings of many Indians, and greatly hurt the Message of the U. S. by delivering his uncle's Message, and by his own artful lies.

The different nations are exceeding slow about coming to attend a Grand Council proposed last winter, although they were hastened last spring; but they put it off untill green corn was fit to roast. At this time there are only about one hundred and fifty, of four nations, Wyondots, Ottawas, Chepawas, and of Potawatommies.

September 18th.—By this time the war party are very

high and dispute with the party for peace and that almost every day. Vermilion told me the substance of the debate between two Heroes which was passed yesterday. The one is for peace and the other for war. One says, it would be good thing if we could have peace—the other said it would be a brave and good thing for us to maintain war and defend our country—then says the other it would be exceeding folly for us to have war longer. Then the other says, because you are a coward that is the reason you speak of peace. Then the other says, I am not a coward as you are, but I am sensible that war will never do us good; you do not consider, but according to your foolishness so you speak; you do not remember how you almost eat your own dung this summer for reason of war. Then the other did not say a word again but went out.

On the 24th of the inst. one hundred of the Indians went back again after hearing the Shawannese talking of so much for war, before the council begins—all the Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommies, but they left two or three out of each nation to attend the council; and many other Indians have left this place and have stolen many horses from Shawannese and from other Indians.

On the 27th inst. Hopaukun or Pipe arrived from the rapids and told us that the Senacas, or Five Nations arrived there a few days ago—there they hold a Council with us, says Pipe. Then on 28th, our Grandfathers invited us to attend a council with them. Then we met them—the Delawares, Monthees, Wenuhtkowuk, Kuhnauwautheew, five Nations of us called Eastern nations or Wauponnuk. Then the Sachem Pipe got up and said we all present. Then he began to relate what councils they have had with the Senacas, and he repeat all their speech and show the strings which the Five Nations used. The substance of their speech is this—the first, to wipe of tears &c.—and the second, manifest grievances for an account of the unhap-

py situation of Indians by means of white people, &c.—and the third, to remind their Nephews the hapiness they enjoyd once by the means of their ancient Sachems, but now their eyes look as if they had been drunk, &c.—and the fourth speech is, to take off the Tomhawhawk from the head of Monthees, &c. After this says Pipe we then gave them answer &c. Then the Senacas delivered two speeches in belts—the first is, to poll out great Pine tree, and thro their tomhawk, which they just now take from the head of their Nephew, in the hole and then set the Pine tree again, and then are to plant good tree, &c. and the second belt is an exhortation &c. At this time the Five Nations arrived at the Forks.

On the 30th of September, then the grand Council began. We all the eastern tribes went together on single file to attend the Council at Shawanny village. We meet with the Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherekees, and did speak to the Five Nations. They concluded to deliver a smart speech to them on the morrow. For they look upon the Five Nations and the English as the means of this unhappy war: (says they,) the English and the Five Nations did lay a foundation for our ruin. They gave us the tomhawk, and the English are at the bottom of this war ever since—and it would be all right for to throw the hatchet back to the English and to the Five Nations, that the English and Five Nations must settle all the difficulties with the Big knives. But we must retain all our lands just as much as before the war. Let English and Five Nations lose their lands &c.

Accordingly in the morning of the first day of October, we went to attend the council in the same manner as before. We went in one body to show that we have been in good friendship this great length of time, &c. After we arrived at the council fire we meet the Shawannese, Miamies, out cast Cherekees, and few of the Ottawas and Wy-

ondots, and two or three of the Potawatommées, and two or three of the Chepawas. Then the Shawany Heroes got up and said let us now march to the camp of the Five Nations, there we will have a council with them, and drive away their minds. Then we set out about five hundred of us, on a single file, to the camp of the Senacas. But these nations now agreed not to deliver the smart speech proposed yesterday, but to wait asoon as the Five Nation speak amiss this smart speech shall be delivered to them, &c.

Then the Shawanny warrior began to address the Five Nations—first to wipe off the tears &c.—the second speech to demand the whole minds of the Five Nations—the third speech is, to remind them of the ancient fire that they ought to have kept. Then the council adjourned till to-morrow at which time the Senacas are to manifest their whole minds.

On the 2d of the inst. rains very hard which prevents this Council, but on the 4th we met again in council. But before the Five Nations deliver their minds, I privately advised my friend the Red Jacket, to tell these nations that they ought to speak to the Big knives for peace &c. But before they the Five Nations speak, the Shawannese speak again, to remind the Five Nations of their speech four years ago, how that the Five Nations then exhort and press these nations to unite with all the Shouthern and Northern Nations &c. Then the speaker produce large bunch of wampom in strings and two belts, which strings and belts the southern and northern Tribes have sent as a token of complying with the Union. Look on these says the speaker we have done our work. Then he says to the Five Nations, I suppose you likewise have done great deal of work towards establishing this Union in these four years past: and further, says he, You the Five Nations must now take hold the hands of these whose speeches I now

have in my hand, &c.—and likewise he showd the Pipe of the Northern nations, which was sent here since we come, &c. Then the speaker says this Pipe will be sent back again immediately after you manifest your sentiments; three of the Muskowuk here present will also go back to the southward.

Then the Head warrior, Puckonchehluh, got up and speak to the Five Nations.

Uncles—

You have heard how we have done our part towards establishing our Union—you also have seen the wampom and the pipe—by this you have seen that we have kept your speeches which you delivered to us four years past.

Uncles—

In our publick council you tell us, we whose are one collar, now have one heart and one head. If any Nation strikes us, we must all feel it. Now you must consider whether this is true what you told us. This all I got to say.

Then the Senaca Chief, (named Red Jacket,) speak and rehearsed what has been said to them, and thanked these nations for it. Then says he the day is far spend, therefore you must come again early to-morrow morning, then I shall speak, &c. This evening my brother Captain Vermilion came to our camp, and told me that he had seen Colonel M'Kee, and that M'Kee inquired where I was, and I told him in such a place; then says M'Kee I wish that you would tell him that I wish he would not think hard of me for the stories he heard, for how can I do such a thing when I know that Muhheconneew come here upon a good business, therefore whoever tells that Story is a Liar &c.

On the 5th, then we met again in a council. Then the five Nations began to speak, and manifest their minds, and take the strings of wampom, and said, our forefathers use to take pains to promote the happiness of their children, and we must imitate their Customs. But in these days we



are much altered. Our Sachems used to set before the Head warriors, but now you set before your Sachems. (The Shawannese have set up such custom that the Chief Warriors should be foremost in doing business.) Now let your Sachems set before you—for they are the proper managers of publick affairs—they will seek the welfare of your children.

And further. When the white people first arrived in this country they were friendly to our ancestors, and they use to purchase land of them. At length they would demand so much land—and our forefathers used to grant it. At last these whites parted and quarrel. The Americans then advise us not to join either side, but set still mind our own affairs, and they then give us a caution that if we do contrary to this advise we shall forfeit our lands. But soon after this advise we put ourselves on the British side, and few days after, the English was thrown down. Then the Big knives cut off our lands.

Brothers and Nephews—

As you have demanded the whole of our minds, do then attend. Let us speak to the Big knives for peace; for it appears to us, that there are not many difficulties to make peace: for this reason, every time the Big knives come to fight against you, you throw them down. If they had thrown you down as you did to them, then it would be difficult to make peace with them.

Several strings of wampom delivered.

Again Red Jacket got up and said, our ancestors did build a fire yonder; but the Big knives have put it out, and we the Five Nations kindle this fire now again, the smoake of which will rise upward.

A little belt delivered.

Then the Seven Nations of Canada began to speak. The chief got up and wipe the tears of these Nations, &c.

Strings delivered.

Then he proceeded further, with a large belt, on the following words.

Brothers of the Confederacy—

Hear me—I am to speak again. The Warriors of seven Nations speak to you the Head warriors of different nations. I am a warrior myself. Our forefathers used to hear each other, and they used to exert themselves to promote their welfare, and have fixed rules for us.

Now attend—

Since I come I perceive that you set contrary the rules of our ancestors—you put yourselves in the foremost, and your Sachems behind; which we the warriors of Canada, will not do, but will always set our Sachems in front. Whatever they conclude to be for our general good, we'll submit. Now do let your sachems set before you, and let them go on with the business, for they had a compassionate feeling for you, and if they could not do any thing then you may stir.

One large belt delivered.

Again the speaker took up another belt, on the following words.

Brothers—

Sachems of the seven N. speak to you, the Sachems of different Tribes. We exhort you to take up your seats and your business. Let all of us speak to the Big Knives for peace, and if they refuse to make peace with us, then no white people or Nation could blame us if we then all of us strike them. The Great Spirit is beholding of us &c.

Second belt is delivered.

Again he takes up another belt.

And we the Heroes of the Seven Nations, now speak again—to let you know that we will not do contrary to the conclusions of our Sachems. And further if our Sa-

chems could not obtain their desires, then we shall rise up and take up our Tomhawk to strike the Big knives, &c.

Third belt deliverd.

Then he took up another belt, and mentioned a particular Nation of the seven—who repeats the words, that if the Sachems could not prevail, so as to have peace, he will rise and take up the hatchet, and strike the Big knives, &c.

Fourth belt deliverd.

Again he takes up another belt, and mentioned another particular Nation of the same confederacy—that if the sachems could not obtain their desire, then I will rise with my warriors to strike the Big knives, &c.

Fifth belt deliverd.

Then he takes up another belt, the speech of another particular nation of the seven, with the same resolution—that if the Sachems could not obtain their desire, &c.

Sixth belt deliverd.

Then he take up another belt, the resolution and declaration of another particular Tribe of the seven—that if the sachems, &c.

Seventh belt deliverd.

Then he takes up another large white belt of beads, to answer the Message of Muskoo Nation, on the following words. All what you desire in your speech, respecting our Union, we the Seven Nations, do comply with it. But you cannot see us this time, but hereafter we will see one another. There are twenty-five towns of us who receive your proposals, &c.

Eighth belt delivered.

Then he takes up another belt of a other northern Nation, to answer the Muskoo, for the same purpose, &c.

Ninth belt deliver.

Then he take few strings of wampom, and speak on the following words.

Brothers of the different Nations. You have heard the voice of the Seven Nations, which I now fasten &c.

Strings deliverd.

The 6th inst. we met in council. The Shawanny Chief began to speak to the Seven Nations of Canada. The substance of the answer is, that they were very glad to hear the voice of the Seven Nations, &c. But they did not say we will do what you propose to us.

Few strings of Wampom deliverd.

Then they began with the Five Nations, with a malicious Voice, and again asked the Five Nations what was their business with the white people these several years &c. Then the Senacas said, you the Shawannese, well know our business with the white people. Eight years ago, you were present, and since that, the business we had with Americans is *this*; here take it and view it. The speaker then delivered a tin case, which contained a map and all the speeches of Colonel Pickering delivered to the Senacas at Philada. After this then we all disperse.

Then we did not met together untill the 9th inst.—few of them met in council. Then the Shawannese delivered a speech to the Five Nations. The substance of it is this. We have acquainted you of our Business with the western nations. Now you may return home, and tell your white people all what you have heard. And be it known to you that we could not speak to the Big knives at the forts for in those places is blood. The United States have laid these troubles, and they can remove these troubles. And if they take away all their forts and move back to the ancient line, then we will believe that they mean to have peace, and that Washington is a great man—then we may meet the U. S. at Sandusky, or kausaumhtuk, next spring.

Few strings deliverd.

Then the Senacas, Onondacas, Cayocas, heartily thanked Shawanese, and others, for this harsh proposal, &c.

The 11th inst. the Shawanese and Wyondots, and few other individuals met in a private Council, and obstinately declared for war. At that time most of the Senacas had set out homewards. In the evening Captain Brant arrived, at which time the general Councils is already broke up.

On the 12th inst. Brant relates all his proceedings since last winter. At this time I saw the warriors of Shawanese and Wyondots divide ammunition, which Colonel M'Kee sent to them. Then I see them set out for war.

On the 14th Brant went back again to the rapids &c.

This day some of the Shawannese set out for Muskoo country, &c.

On the 15th some of the hostile Delawares set out to see what the Shawannese will do at the forts, and Nine of the Mohawks.

The whole of the war party who went out, are about two hundred men.

My friends who are for peace, have sometime ago declared, that if treaty could not take place this fall, yet they will send their voice to the U. S. that the U. S. may know what were the obstacles in the path of peace.

On the 18th inst. Big Cat and some of his heroes came to us by order of the Council, to desire me to write their speech to the U. S. Then the Sachem begins on the following words.

Although we well know that Shawannese and Wyondots do not speak from the heart to the Five Nation respecting a treaty next spring, yet we who are for peace will bring them to it, &c.

Then he begin to deliver their message to the U. S. which I have put in other paper, &c.

The substance of a message to the U. S. delivered by Mkhequeh Posees, or Big Cat, Sachem of Wenaumie or Delaware.

Brothers attend—

We speak to you, and to acquaint you that your good Message was delivered to us last summer by our friends of Muhheconnuk, and also to acquaint you what were the reasons that we could not meet your great man.

You may remember that you have some people among you who have and will oppose the work of peace. We likewise unavoidably have such. In your Message you have told us that you have some doubts with regard of your Messengers of peace, whether they reached to us, that we may hear your voice of peace.

Brothers—

You have a reason to doubt, for we have among us, foolish and obstinate young men—of such, went out early last spring to hunt, and come cross your Messengers, and have killed them; it was not out of our desire, nor Custom to kill such—

Brothers—

When we heard your Message of peace, it gladden our hearts, and did take a hold of it immediately; then we exhort our sachems to forwarded to the Wyondots first and to the greater Nations, (to wit) the Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommies, who we knew would glad to hear such Message, and would readily accepted; our intention was this, that the Message should go around to these greater nations, and that it will come to us with these nations (at the Forks.) Then we was to repeat and declare that we have received such Message and did taken hold of it (that is, we so many nations comply with it.) Then the Shawannese would oblige to submit. Then we was to send an escort to fort Jefferson to make our conclusions known.

Our Sachems without any delay did forward the Message to the abovementioned nations and they the Wyondots, sent runners to invite the Sachems and Head warriors of

Ottawas, Chepawas, and Potawatommies, to meet such a place, at the same time gave them notice that they have received such a Message of the U. S. for which they must meet together. According to this invitation, the Sachems of these nations meet in council for the good Message. But before they come to conclusion, an alarming voice reachd their ears that the Big knives come on their way to fight against the nations, and have killed three of the Delawares, who went to see whether it was true that the Big knives are come.

Brothers—

This terrible voice was the first reason or obstacle, for which the war party have occasion to oppose the work of peace, and for which the Sachems and Head warriors of the four nations cover the Belt in a blanket.

Brothers—

The second reason is this, that before we could remove the first obstacle, the voice of the Five Nations reached our ears, and did not speak agreeable to your good Message, which strengthen the arguments of the enticers to war.

Brothers—

The third reason is this, that immediately after the second reason, the Message of Brant reachd to our ears by his Nephew. A Prohibitory and Cautionary Message that the Confederacy should not listen nor believe what Message the Muhheconneew brought neither to what he say, for if you do believe, you will be greatly deceived. And further says he, I have seen the great men of the U. S.—they speak good words to Muhheconnuk, but they did not speak so well to the Five Nations, and they speak contrary to the Big knives, that the Big knives may prepare for war and fall upon the Indians unawares; and the President of the U. S. did declare that he claim from the mouth of Miamie river on Lake Erie to its head from

thence to the head of Wabash river, and down the same to the mouth of it, and that he will by no means restored to the Indians.

Brothers—

The fourth reason is, that by our spies we do understand that the Big knives does truly preparing for war, and have strengthen the fort Jefferson.

Brothers—

The fifth reason is, that Col. McKee's son brought a letter from Detroit. That one of the Americans arrived there with an intelligence that the Big knives have brought a large quantity of Goods and Liquors in the forts, which they will send with the army, and that before they will come to battle against the Indians they will put a Poison in the Goods and Liquors, and that after a little fight they will retreat and leave the Goods and Liquors, by which means many of the Indians will die,

Brothers—

These are the principal reasons or obstacles which enrage the hostile party, and when we come to Debate their arguments are stand in force, and we could not convince them otherwise.

Brothers—

Now the matter is laid before you; if you discourage we will also discouraged; but if you will lengthen your patience, and manifest your power in withdrawing the Big knives from the forts which stands on our land—then repeat your Message of peace to us. Then we will arise immediately, and exert ourselves to promote peace. Then we can assure the back nations that you have a power to govern the hostile Big knives, and that you mean to have peace. Then the back nations will never regard the voice of these hostile Nations here. Then the war party will be speechless.

As I have propose to mention—The complaints or argu-



ments of these Indians, and my arguments to convince them in several times, I will now put down.

First principal thing they argue is this—that the white people are deceitful in their dealings with us the Indians; (says they) The white people have taken all our lands from us, from time to time, until this time, and that they will continue the same way, &c. Then I reply and say it has been too much so, because these white people was governed by one Law, the Law of the great King of England; and by that Law they could hold our lands, in spite of our dissatisfaction; and we were too fond of their liquors. But now they have new Laws their own, and by these Laws Indians cannot be deceived as usual, &c. And they say, but these Big knives have take away our lands since they have their own way. And then I tell them, for this very reason the United Sachems invite you to treat with them that you may settle these difficulties—for how can these difficulties settled without you treat with them?

Another thing they mention—says they, the Big knives have used learning to Civilize Indians; and after they Christianize number of them so as to gain their attention, then they would killed them, and have killed of such 96 in one day, at Cosuhheck, few years ago.

Another instance they mention—that one of the Chiefs of Shawany was friendly to the Big knives, and Big knives gave him a flag, that where ever the chief should come a cross the Big knives, he is to hoist up this flag, then they will meet together in peace. But soon after this agreement was made, the Big knives came in the town of this Chief; some of the Indians could not trust the Big knives and run off; but the Chief have such confidence in the words of the Big knives he hoisted up his flag; but the Big knives did not regarded, but killed the Chief and number of his friends.

Another instance they mention—that some of the Delawares was with the Big knives on the service of Ameri-

cans; but afterward the Big knives have fall upon them and have killed number of them &c. And since that, every time the Big knives get ready to come against us, they would sent message to us for peace—then they come to fight us—and they know how to speak good, but would not do good towards Indians &c.

Then I tell them I very sorry to hear these things. If the great men of the United States have the like principal or disposition as the Big knives had, My nation and other Indians in the East would been along ago annihilated. But they are not so, Especially since they have their Liberty—they begin with new things, and now they endeavour to lift us up the Indians from the ground, that we may stand up and walk ourselves; because we the Indians, hitherto have lay flat as it were on the ground, by which we could not see great way; but if we could stand then we could see some distance. The United States in seeing our situation they put their hands on us, and lead us in the means of Life untill we could stand and walk as they are. But on the other hand, the British seeing the Indians in their situation, they would just cover them with blanket and shirt every fall, and the Indians feel themselves warm, and esteem that usage very high—therefore they remain as it were on the ground and could not see great way these many years, &c.

And further I told them, the United Sachems will not speak wrong. Whatever they promise to Indians they will perform. Because out of 30,000 men, they chuse one men to attend in their great Council Fire—and such men must be very honest and wise, and they will do Justice to all people &c. In this way of converseing with them repeatly, make them willing to hear further.

Another thing they urge that the United States could not govern the hostile Big knives—and that they the Big knives, will always have war with the Indians. If the United States could govern them, then the peace could

stand sure. But the Big knives are independent, and if we have peace with them, they would make slaves of us.

Then I told them, the reason the Big knives are so bad, is this because they have run away from their own country of different States, because they were very mischivous, such as theives and robbers and murderers—and their laws are so strict these people could not live there without being often punished; therefore they run off in this contry and become lawless. They have lived such a distance from the United States, that in these several years the Law could not reached them because they would run in the woods, and no body could find them. But at length the people of the United States settle among them, and the Law now binds them; and if they would endeavour to run in the woods as usual, you would then have chance to knock their heads and they know this, therefore they oblige to set still, &c.

And further (says I,) we the Indians have such people also; for instance, here is Kuttoohwoh, or Cherekes; they could not live among their own people in their own Contry, because they have strict Laws, so that if any steals, he must be whipt immediately; and if any commit adultery his ears will be cut off; and if any murders he will be instandly killed, &c. In all my arguments with these Indians, I have as it were oblige to say nothing with regard of the conduct of Yorkers, how they cheat my fathers, how they taken our lands Unjustly, and how my fathers were groaning as it were to their graves, in loseing their lands for nothing, although they were faithful friends to the Whites; and how the white people artfully got their Deeds confirm in their Laws, &c. I say had I mention these things to the Indians, it would agravate their prejudices against all white people, &c.

And here I will also mention the substance of my speech to these Nations, deliverd immediately after Brant's Prohibitory and Cautionary Message delivered. And after the

Indians been informd by some Emmissaries, that I and my Companions were sent by the Big knives to number the Indians, and was to return again with the information, that the White people may judge how many men will be sufficient to fall upon the Indians, &c.

I begin with these words:—

Grandfathers—and Brothers—and friends—attend—

As we have acquaint to each other many things, and as we have agreed that we would set together in council to manifest our sentiments to each other, I will now speak. We have heard variors reports of many birds, for which occasion I will now speak. The Prohibitory Voice of the Mohawks has reachd your ears, that you should not believe the Message I deliver to you, nor to what I say, that I was to deceive you, &c.

My Grandfathers Brothers and friends—

Let us consider the meaning of this Brant's Message—by the sound of it, he point at me as a deceiver or roag, that every nation must be warned. But let us now look back in the path of our forefathers, and see whether you can find one single instance wherein, or how my ancestors or myself have deceived you, or led you one step astray. I say Let us look narrowly, to see whether you can find one bone of yours lay on the ground, by means of my deceitfulness, and I now declare that you cannot found such instance. And further, you may reflect, and see wherein I have speak deceitfully since I come here, that Mohawks should have occasion to stop your ears. But you look back and see heaps of your bones, wherein the Mauquas have deceived you repeatly. I think I could have good reason to tell you not to believe the Message or words of the Mohawks, for they will deceive you greatly as Usual—but I forbear.

Another information reached your ears, that I and my men were sent on purpose to number your nations &c. This also is a Dark Lye, for if you only consider whether

I ever ask any of you how many warriors have you, you could easily know whether I was sent on this Business.

My friends—

I now tell you that the white people well knew your numbers not only your warriors, but your women and children too. (How come they know you would say) because in every fall you gave your numbers to the whites therefore they knew it. Now consider, and think whether there is any need on the part of the Whites to sent me to number your nations, &c.

Six strings of wampom delivered.

After this—then they talk among themselves, and then rehearse my speech and heartily thank me for the same.

And the Sachem of Delaware speak and said—

Grandchild—

It is true all what have said, we could not found any instance wherein your ancestors have deceived our fathers, and we cannot find any fault with your words since you meet us in this country &c. But on the other hand, our Uncles have injured us much these many years; and now after they divided, now they wanted to divide us also. And further, it is true we have gave our numbers to the English every year &c.

I have not mention several speeches with wampom delivered by these Indians to me while I was with them, and my last speech to Shawany &c. and many other affairs.

I now have occasion to say that I have been endeavouring to do my best in the business of peace and according to my best knowledge with regard of the desires of the United States, I have press in the minds of friends in the westward repeatly.

But since I arrived at home I understand that my Character is darkend by envious Indians who stayed but few days in Miamie. But for my conduct I will appeal to the nations whom I had Business with last summer, that is if

any of my Brothers should doubt of my faithfulness. But this one thing, every wise men well knew, that to employ an enemy or half friend, will never speak well, &c.

With regard to myself, I think it is easy matter to find out whether I was not faithful with the United States in the late war, and whether I have not been faithfull in the work of peace according to abilities in these near two years. I have as it were sacrifice all my own affairs, and my family, for the sake of peace and this last time have gone from home better than Eleven months, and have gone thro a hazardous journeys, and have sufferd with sickness and hunger, and have left my Counsellors with the nations who are for peace, to promote peace and forward every means of peace while I am absent—not only so but I have been pleading and Justifying the Conduct of these people, for which they were well received at their arrival at Miamie. Notwithstand of all this, they brought my Name at Nought. The occasion of my speaking this sort, because of many evil and false reports sounded in the ears of my friends—and I am ready to answer any thing that may be asked respecting to the different Tribes of Indians, &c.—

HENDRICK AUPAUMUT.



**AN ACCOUNT**  
**OF THE**  
**SETTLEMENT**  
**OF**  
**THE DUNKERS**  
**AT**  
**EPHRATA,**  
**IN**  
**LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.**

**BY**  
**REDMOND CONYNGHAM, ESQ.**  
**OF CARLISLE.**

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**TO WHICH IS ADDED**  
**A**  
**SHORT HISTORY**  
**OF THAT**  
**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.**

**BY THE LATE**  
**REV. CHRISTIAN ENDRESS,**  
**OF LANCASTER.**

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*Read at a meeting of the Council, October 18th, 1826.*





## AN ACCOUNT, &c.

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THE following account of this curious establishment, was communicated by Redmond Conyngham, Esq. of Carlisle, in this State. It contains some particulars not generally known, and more fully describes the religious tenets of these honest people, than any other account that we have seen. But thirty or forty years ago, the Dunkers were occasionally noticed in this city, as they came down with their produce for sale; and their long beards, capuchin habiliments, and meagre visages, attracted much attention. The reduction of their numbers gradually rendered the sight of them among us uncommon, and it now appears, that unless new converts to their religion and their austerities shall be shortly made, this ascetic community will soon become extinct.

The present publication will be read with interest, by those who feel a satisfaction in tracing the workings of the mind, the extremes to which it is sometimes led by ardent imaginations, and the short duration of many of those enthusiastic schemes of separation from the sober and general community of men. But as it appeared probable, that still more information might be obtained by further inquiries, Mr. Conyngham, at the instance of a mem-

ber of the Society, has been kind enough to procure the additional Communication from the Rev. Christian Endress, of Lancaster, with his permission to insert it in our Memoirs.

It may be proper to add, that Mr. Conyngham's paper was written some years ago; and describes the peculiar manners prevalent at Ephrata during the period when monastic discipline maintained its rule. Several of the statements respecting dress, &c. though expressed in the present tense, must, therefore, be understood as having reference to times that are past.

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#### MR. CONYNGHAM'S

#### ACCOUNT OF EPHRATA.

In the year 1730, in the bosom of a beautiful dale lying between two wood-crowned hills, at whose bottom a handsome stream of water winded through the low grounds, was formed the settlement of *Ephrata*.

The whole land belonging to the proprietors, consisted of two hundred and fifty acres, about eleven miles from Lancaster. The road from Lancaster was good, and the scenery along its way attractive, from its variety. Lancaster is principally settled by Germans, plain, easy, and simple in their manners; an honest, frugal, and industrious people.

Near Ephrata, the country was rather retired,

and almost in a state of nature. The inhabitants lived scattered, and concealed from each other by the neighbouring woods, in the serpentine windings of the roads passing from cabin to cabin. Nothing was to be seen but the first impression made by man upon the surrounding forest. Nature retained all its beauty; man had not then added to its embellishment.

The first settler lived in solitude for many years on the spot where Ephrata now stands; he required not, nor did he seek assistance from others; he obtained by his own industry the necessaries of life which a grateful soil amply supplied.

The surrounding country gradually began to be settled by a class of Germans remarkable for probity, simplicity, and industry. Exemplary piety displayed itself throughout the settlement—their society became enlarged.

The females young and unmarried were placed in a mansion by themselves, under the care of an elderly and very respectable motherly woman.

They lived contented; ambition or politics did not disturb them; vice entered not into their lowly and humble dwellings; industry, frugality, neatness, affability, and above all, christianity and brotherly love united them together, and they placed in one common fund the product of their individual labour.

The town of Ephrata is situated on the side of a little hill, sloping towards the south-east, and the woods on the north-west were left standing, to protect them from the extreme winter's cold. It is formed

like a triangle. On the outward lines are planted cherry, peach, plum, apple, quince, and pear trees, enclosing a large apple orchard within.

Their cabins have now given way to handsome and substantial dwellings of wood, three stories high. These are all neatly whitewashed both within and without, and are remarkable for their extreme neatness, regularity, and beautiful whiteness.

An apartment is appropriated to each individual, that their devotion may have no interruption.

Females have a portion of the town allotted to them; they have no communication with the men, except in matters of religion, and what may be necessary in the management of their concerns.

If any desire to marry, they leave the Society, and they are entitled to draw out of the public treasury their shares; but they settle in the vicinity of the Society, and send their children to be educated among their brothers or sisters. Economy and piety are strictly observed.

The winter's dress is a long white gown, fastened with a belt round the waist; behind hangs the cap—they wear no hats—a waistcoat, shirt, trousers, and shoes. In summer, their garments are made of linen, in winter of cloth. The women wear the same as the men, except that instead of trousers, they wear petticoats; and they conceal their faces when they walk out of their houses. The men let the beard grow, and crop their hair.

Their number consists of about three hundred men and women. They live on vegetables, and

will not touch animal food ; hence they are lean of body, of a pale complexion, and apparently bloodless. Their recreations are connected with their religious duties. They worship four times in the twenty-four hours. In lieu of beds, they sleep upon benches, and use a little wooden block for a pillow ; each room is supplied with a couple of these conveniences.

The President of the Dunkers received a regular education at Halle, in Germany. He was originally a minister of the Calvinist Church, but becoming dissatisfied, he left that Church, and joined the Dunkers. He was open, affable, familiar, easy of access, and agreeable in conversation. " My principles, or rather those of my brethren are as follows," thus he says—

" We retain both sacraments ; adults only are admitted to baptism—We deny original sin. " It is immoral to use violence at any time, but our duty to submit—We think going to law is not according to Christianity, and it is expressly forbidden.

" We observe the Jewish Sabbath. We have no regular form of worship. Our discourses treat of the Christian virtues, Humility, Temperance, Chastity, Fortitude, Charity, &c. We believe the dead had the Gospel preached to them by our Saviour, and after his resurrection, the souls of the holy preached the Gospel to those who had not the scripture revealed to them, or who are ignorant of its truth and beauty.

“We deny eternal punishment. Those souls  
“who become sensible of God’s great goodness  
“and clemency, and acknowledge his lawful autho-  
“rity, and that he is just, wise, and good, without a  
“stain or blemish, and that Christ is the only true  
“Son of God, are received into happiness; but those  
“who continue obstinate, are kept in darkness until  
“the Great day, when light will make all happy.”

Such are their doctrines.

Affection is their bond of union. Kind and hospitable to strangers, they will give to the traveller such meals as he may require, and a night’s lodging, but will receive no remuneration. The nuns draw beautifully with great execution and skill; much ingenuity is displayed in pieces of writing, with which their church is ornamented, done in German text. They are peculiarly fond of drawing flowers, of which they have a vast variety.

Thus ends the account of this society, which flourished in the year 1750—they are now much reduced in number. On the death of one or two persons, the property will escheat to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

## MR. ENDRESS'S

## HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY.

1. What are the names and ages of the survivors in the convent of Dunkers at Ephrata?
2. Is it understood that they still adhere to the same severe rules—sleeping on the floor, abstaining from animal food, &c.?
3. Was this mode of life found conducive to health and longevity? Can the ages of any of the old people, (if remarkable,) be ascertained?
4. Do those that married off, or their descendants, remain in the neighbourhood? and do they adhere to the same religious principles?
5. Do they still dress in the same manner?
6. In what respect did the Dunkers differ from the Mennonists?

There are but three survivors of the fraternity of Ephrata Dunkers, Henry Brendel, Jacob Angus, and Barbara Keiper. Brendel is about seventy-five years of age, Angus seventy, and Barbara Keiper between fifty and sixty. Many years ago, Brendel had married and left the convent. After the death of his wife he returned, and now lives in the brother-house with Angus, whose history is about the same. Lately the three of the old stock have attracted a few more to their number. But the practices and usages, so strictly observed in former



times, are almost altogether abandoned. Instead of resting on wood, with a log under their heads, they sleep in beds; they eat animal food; dress nearly like their neighbours around them; mingle with the world; and refrain from labouring on Sundays. Many of the original members arrived to a good old age; for the most part they lived to be eighty or ninety years old. It ought, however, to be borne in mind, that the institution was of such a nature, as to deter all others but persons of vigorous constitutions and enterprising spirits, from subjecting themselves to so rigid a discipline. They entered, for the most part, with healthful stamina of life; and it is well known that the human frame is often so robust, that even the most glaring practice of otherwise injurious habits, will not prevent it from climbing up to extreme old age. Besides, according to Sangmeister's account, which he has written as an eye witness of the Ephrata affairs, many of those whom we may reckon among the tender plants, withered beneath the influence of their self-denying practices. Some of those who married off, and their descendants, still remain in the neighbourhood, and adhere to the general principles of the original Dunkers. They, however, dispense with many of the practices, habits, and usages, observed by their ancestors, particularly those which they had adopted to torture the body for the benefit of the soul. But few of them keep the seventh day as their religious sabbath. With respect to the last of the questions above stated, the answer is a short

one. The Dunkers and Mennonists have nothing in common with each other, except the general creed of Christians; and, in singularities, their mode of appointing their ministers out of the general body without previous special instruction, their holding love feasts and washing each others feet as a religious ceremony, their rejecting infant baptism, and their distinguishing themselves from others by a singularity in dress and appearance.

The above is all I can say in direct answer to the queries proposed. At least the gentlemen who were politely engaged in making the appropriate inquiries, have not been able to learn any thing more full and explicit. But while these inquiries were progressing, I was employed in reading some of the works of the Ephrata brethren, hoping to gain from these, some, at least, of the looked for information. Little, however, could be gathered in reference to the special inquiries. Some historical facts drawn from them, and observations they have occasioned, I will here put down. They may perhaps serve to correct some inaccuracies, that have mingled with the accounts already given of this fraternity in the English language. The works are in German. They are—

1. *Chronicon Ephratense*, containing the life and actions of the Reverend Father in Christ, Friedsam Gottrecht, late founder and ruler of the spiritual order of the Solitary in Ephrata, in the county of Lancaster in Pennsylvania, by the brethren, Lamech and Agrippa.

2. The life and conversation of brother Ezechiel Sangmeister, (now resting in God and blest, but late an inhabitant of Ephrata, &c.) written by himself; to which is prefixed a short plan of a Chronick, concerning the origin and groundwork of the Ephrata institution, down to the deceased author's arrival there; after which, this Chronick is carried onward in conjunction with his own biography.

3. The songs of the solitary and forsaken turtle-dove, that is, of the Christian church; or, Spiritual and experimental hymns of affliction and love—wherein both the foretaste of the new world, and the intervening paths of pain and affliction, are presented according to their true value, and brought into spiritual rhymes, by a *Peaceable* pilgrim wandering to silent eternity, and now collected and published for the use of the solitary and forsaken in Zion. Ephrata, from the press of the fraternity in the year 1747.

To aid the reader in understanding the foregoing title, it may be proper to inform him, that it is no other than the Hymn book used in Ephrata, and published by Conrad Beissel, the founder and master of the fraternity.

Concerning the customary English title or denomination of this fraternity, and the names of the individuals, Lamech, Agrippa, and Friedsam Gottrecht, it may yet be premised, that the term *Dunkers* is a corruption of the German *Tunker*, the signification of which is Dippers or Baptists by plunging, a title as usual given to them by others,

because. the person baptized among them was dipped or plunged three times under water; that the general religious community to which they profess to belong, call themselves Tæuffer, Baptists, or Baptizers; and that the names of the individuals in the Ephrata society were entirely changed at the time of baptism. those here put down being the names at that time given and assumed. The original name of the founder of Ephrata being Conrad Beissel, his assumed name was Friedsam Gottrecht, the English of which is *Peaceable God-right*. I will hereafter write the denomination, *Tunkers*.

According to the accounts given by Lamech, Agrippa, and Sangmeister, the Tunkers trace their origin from the Pietists, near Schwartzenu, in Germany. While they yet belonged among the Pietists, in the year 1708, there was a society at the place just mentioned, consisting of eight persons, whose spiritual leader was Alexander Mack, a miller of Schriesheim. The members of this society, having been re-baptized by their leader, because they considered their infant baptism as unavailing, first assumed the name of Tæuffer or Baptists. From Schwartzenu their notions of baptism spread among the Pietists, in various directions. A branch of them having left their native homes, because their enthusiastic practices were not every where tolerated, settled in Creyfeld, where they formed a considerable society. Of this Creyfeld society, a company came with Peter Becker to

Pennsylvania, in the year 1719. They settled in Germantown, where their numbers soon increased. They gained accessions also along the Wissahiccon and in Lancaster County. In 1723, those that lived in Germantown and along the Wissahiccon, formed themselves into a united community, and chose Peter Becker for their official baptizer. He, with some others, visited the scattered brethren in Lancaster county, in November, 1724, and collected and formed them into a distinct society, near the Pecquea creek.

In this last mentioned society the practice of keeping the Sabbath, or Saturday, the last day of the week, as a day of solemn rest, was introduced by three of its members, much to the displeasure of the older brethren, who called it a Jewish practice, and declared that whoever kept the Sabbath as a legal institution, was bound to observe the whole law, for that he who had imposed the observance of the Sabbath, had equally ordained the practice of circumcision. Among the people near the Pecquea was Conrad Beissel, who in time became their minister or instructor. In 1728, this Beissel wrote a sort of a treatise in favour of the Sabbath, or seventh day observance, and from that time onward, says the Chronicon, it was kept alike by all the Society.

From time to time schisms occurred among the Lancaster county Tunkers, and another distinct society was formed, near the Conestogoe, in opposition to Beissel. The two societies now lived in open dissention. In relation to this, both the Chro-

nicon and Sangmeister, with a very serious air, tell the following anecdote. Joel, one of Beissel's brethren, went to the meeting of the Conestogoe people, and solemnly stepped in among them, and, addressing the leader of the congregation, said, "To thee, J. H. these words, through me, from the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, from this day forth thou shalt no longer go out to preach to others. And on this day it shall appear whether *we* or *you* are the Congregation of the Lord. If God shall on this day do a miracle upon my person; if here in your presence and before your eyes I fall down like a dead man, and if by your prayers I be made to rise up again to life, then God hath *not* sent me to you, and *you* are God's people. But if *I do not* fall down like a dead man, but go fresh and hearty out of that door, then shall ye know that *God hath indeed* sent me, and that *ye are not* the people of the Lord. A week ago I told you in your meeting that there was a wolf among you; here, (taking one by the arm,) here is the wolf." Upon this, Joel, turning his back upon them, went out of the door, fresh and hearty. Our authors make no further observation, taking it probably for granted, that none was needed, and that this might stand for an indubitable proof that Joel was the man and his people the people.

In the year 1728 it was, that Beissel's society entirely separated themselves from all fellowship with the rest of the Tunkers, and Beissel re-baptized them, or, as Lamech and Agrippa express it, they gave to the old Baptists their baptism back

again. Beissel himself does not seem to have been re-baptized on this occasion. He was satisfied with the baptism which Becker, though considered his inferior, had formerly given to him.

Not very long after this transaction, Beissel, having appointed several elders over his people, withdrew from all personal intercourse with them, and retired to live a solitary life in a cottage that had been built for a similar purpose, and occupied and abandoned by a brother, Elimelech. It stood near the place where the convent was afterwards built. Here he seemed to intend to remain altogether alone, and secluded from the world of mankind; but still he had some secret mode of communication with his former brethren. For, hearing that the society had got into discord and strife, he sent them a formal citation to meet at his cottage. It was issued September 4th, 1732. In pursuance of this citation, they actually met; and one of the results of the conference was, that some of the single brethren agreed to erect a second cottage near that occupied by Beissel. Beside this, a house was also built for females; and in May, 1733, two single women retired into it. In 1734, a third house for male brethren was built and occupied by two brothers, Onesimus and Jotham, whose family name was Eckerlin. Soon after they all united in the building of a bakehouse, and a storehouse for the poor. And now the whole together was called the Camp.\*

\* Germ. das Lager.

About this time there was what the Tunkers called a *Revival* in Falconer Swamp, in consequence of which many families took up land round about the Camp, and moved upon it, calling their settlements Massa, Zohar, Hebron and Cades. Another revival, on the banks of the Schuylkill, drove many more into the neighbourhood; by it, the sister establishment obtained considerable accession; only two, however, Drusilla and Basilla, remained steadfast. A further revival in Tolpehoccon, 1735, brought many to the society. Hereupon they built a meeting house, with rooms attached to it for the holding of love feasts, and called it Kedar. About the same time, a revival in Germantown sent additional brothers and sisters to the Camp.

Now, for a considerable length of time they held midnight meetings, for the purpose of awaiting the coming of Judgment.

Not long after the building of Kedar, a widower, Sigmund Lambert, having joined the camp, built, out of his own means, an addition to the meeting house, and a dwelling house for Beissel. Another gave all his property to the society; and now Kedar was transformed into a *sister-convent*, and a new meeting house erected. Soon after, 1738, a large house for the brethren was built, to which was attached the title of Zion, while the whole camp together obtained, from this time, the name of Ephrata.

Now what originally had been a solitary life was changed into that of conventual fellowship, and



Zion was formally called a Kloster or Convent, and put under monastic rules; the brethren agreed to wear garments similar to those of the Capuchins; Onesimus was appointed Prior, and Conrad Beissel acquired the title of Father. Many, however, were anxious to retain their solitary mode of living. This, together with the resolution to elevate Beissel to the title of Father, produced considerable dissension. Among the opponents of these measures was one Hildebrand, who, according to Sangmeister, long continued unfriendly to Beissel. Sangmeister himself was at that time one of them, and after some time left the society and retired to a solitary life in Virginia. Some years afterwards, however, he returned, and lived and died in a cottage near to Zion. His book, the title of which is prefixed to this statement, was written partly at Ephrata and partly in Virginia. It is much tainted with bitterness, and undertakes to cast a dark shade upon the whole establishment and a considerable part of its members, but particularly upon Beissel its ruler, or Father Friedsam.\*

\* A lady, who formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Ephrata, has related to me the following anecdote:—"Before Ezechiel, (Sangmeister,) died, he requested to be buried without service or other ceremonials. Miller, however, the successor of Beissel, notwithstanding this request, went to the grave at the time of interment, and could not refrain from making a funeral oration. The conclusion of this oration, was: 'Yes, my brethren, brother Ezechiel did not do as he ought to have done. He loved the maid better than the wife. He once altogether forsook the wife. But it

Little can be gathered from the several works in hand, with regard to the precise religious tenets of this fraternity. In general, their religion is mysticism. Union in love, with God and Christ, is to them the end of a Christian's life and labours, struggles and sufferings; and self-denial, and withdrawing from the world, not a mere ascetic exercise, but essential to that mystical union which must be formed with the Redeemer. Baptism they do not consider as an act of initiation into the fellowship with Christ and the believers, but as a rite similar to that of purification in the Mosaic law, which may be repeated from time to time, when the believer has become again defiled by the world, and would again renew his union with Christ. With many of the single brethren and sisters, this mystical idea of union was evidently used to gratify one of the strongest natural affections of the human heart. The Redeemer was their bridegroom or bride; he was espoused to them in love; he was the little infant they carried *under their hearts*, the dear little lamb they dandled on their laps.

“was not to continue so; back again he had to come. Yet  
“what should he do? he despises the wife, goes and lives  
“altogether with the maid; and in her lap he dies.” With  
“this discourse many of the brethren were gratified. They  
“knew what Miller meant. The wife was the convent, the  
“maid the cottage. But the neighbours, who out of real respect had attended Ezechiels funeral, and were not familiar with such high mystical figures, were much offended;  
“for Ezechiel enjoyed the best possible reputation for piety  
“and holiness of demeanour.”

This sweet, fond, dalliance, was, at least, much more found among the single Tunkers, than among those, whose sexual and parental affections were consecrated in a conjugal life. The powers of human nature would evince their authority. According to Sangmeister, males and females of weaker bodily constitution and lesser vigour of will, sank under the unceasing struggle; or concealing the ruling passion, it gnawed upon their vitals, till death relieved them of their sorrow; when the particular object of their affection was the last in their minds, the dear long cherished name the last they uttered.

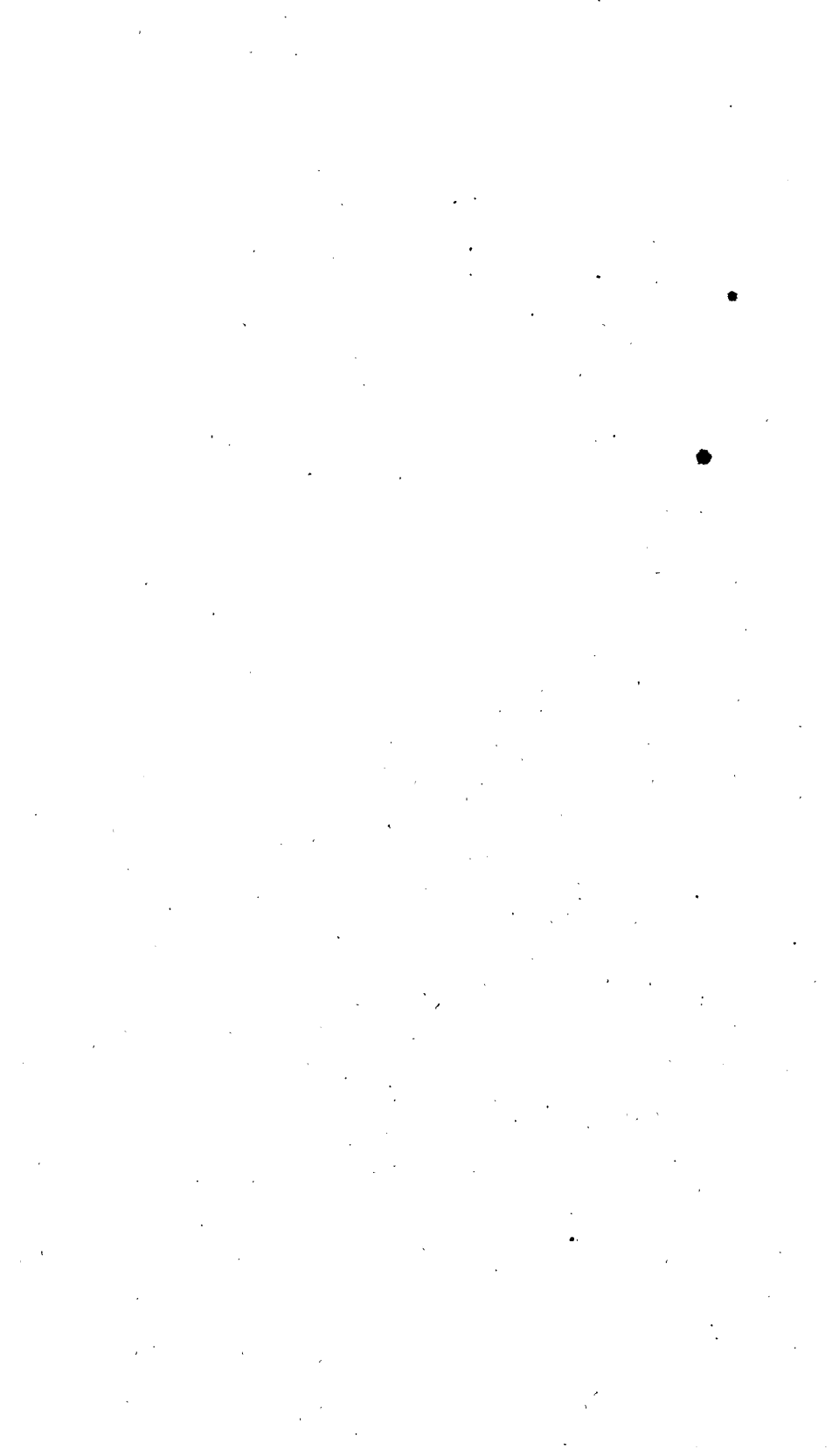
Some of their writers of spiritual songs, seem to have possessed well regulated minds, and a portion of poetic spirit. The mysticism of these created an imaginary world instead of that which they had abandoned. Here they deemed their affections permitted to roam unchecked. The figure or image dearest to passion was enthroned in their hearts. That was their God, their Lord, their dear Redeemer. But the effusions of others were a perfect jargon of unfitting, absurd, and inconsistent connexions; turtledoves and lambs in conjugal union, cultivated fields upon which are sown pearls and wine and music, burning hearts united in keeping silence and singing at the same time songs of joy.

Beissel appears to me to have been a man possessed of a considerable degree of the spirit of rule, his mind bent from the beginning upon the acquire-

ment of authority, power, and ascendancy. Various arts were resorted to for the purpose of carrying his point. He separated his most ardent friends and adherents from the rest who were less attached to him; he gave them distinguishing offices; those that were most enthusiastically attached were constituted rulers; he withdrew to be sought after; his language was cloudy and mysterious; he was constantly enveloped in mystery; his words were inspiration.

Beissel, good or bad, lived and died the master spirit of the brotherhood. With him it sank into decay; and when he died its spirit was almost gone. A small portion only of it remained with Miller, his successor. But when Miller was no more, the whole establishment lost its life and almost its existence.

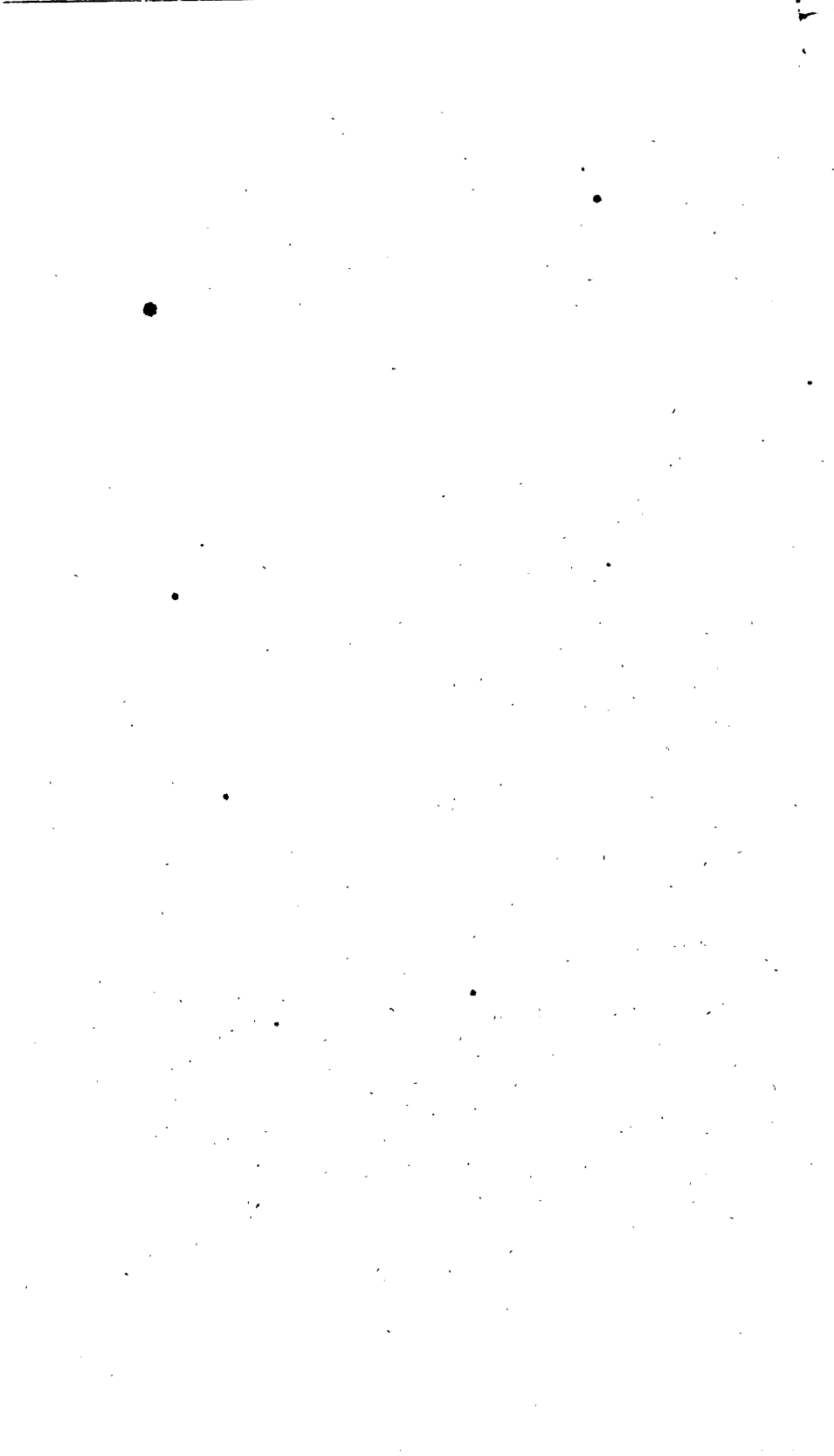
**CHRISTIAN ENDRESS.**



**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**INTRODUCTION**  
OF  
**ANTHRACITE COAL**  
INTO  
**PHILADELPHIA.**  
BY **ERSKINE HAZARD, ESQ.**  
*Communicated to the Society, Feb. 5th, 1827;*  
AND  
**A LETTER**  
FROM  
**JESSE FELL, ESQ.**  
OF  
**WILKSBARRE,**  
ON  
**THE DISCOVERY AND FIRST USE**  
OF  
**ANTHRACITE**  
IN THE  
**VALLEY OF WYOMING.**

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*Read at a meeting of the Council, Feb. 21st. 1827.*



## HISTORY, &c.

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THE coal on the Lehigh was accidentally discovered in the year 1791 by a hunter, who observed it adhering to the roots of a tree which had been blown down.

In 1792 a company was formed, called the Lehigh Coal Mine Company, who took up a large body of land contiguous to that on which the coal had been found. They opened the mine where it is at present worked, made a very rough road from the river to the mine, and attempted to bring the coal in arks to the city, in which they but partially succeeded in consequence of the difficulties of the navigation. A small quantity of coal, however, reached the city, but the want of knowledge of the proper fixtures for its use, together with the difficulties of the navigation, caused the company to abandon their undertaking. Some of this coal, it is said, was tried under the boiler of the engine at the Centre Square, but only served to *put the fire out*, and the remainder was broken up and spread on the walks in place of gravel!

The legislature were early aware of the importance of the navigation of the Lehigh, and in 1771, passed a law for its improvement. Subsequent laws for the same object were enacted in 1791, 1794, 1798, 1810, 1814, and 1816. A company was



formed under one of them, which expended upwards of thirty thousand dollars in clearing out channels; one of which they attempted to make through the ledges of slate which extend across the river, about seven miles above Allentown: but they found the slate too hard to pick, and too shelly to blow; and at length considered it an insuperable obstacle to the completion of the work, and relinquished it.

The Coal Mine Company in the meanwhile, anxious to have their property brought into notice, gave leases of their mines to different individuals in succession, for periods of twenty-one, fourteen, and ten years, adding to the last the privilege of taking timber from their lands for the purpose of floating the coal to market. Messrs. Cist, Miner and Robinson, who had the last lease, started several arks, only three of which reached the city, and they abandoned their business at the close of the war, 1815.

In 1812, Messrs. White and Hazard, who were then manufacturing wire at the Falls of Schuylkill, induced a number of individuals to associate and apply to the legislature for a law for the improvement of the river Schuylkill. The coal which was said to be on the head waters of that river, was held up as an inducement to the legislature to make the grant, when the senator from Schuylkill county asserted that there was no coal there—that there was a kind of “black stone” that was “called” coal, but that it would not burn!

Their application to the legislature as individuals

having failed, they called a meeting of those interested in that navigation, at the tavern, corner of Fifth and Race streets, where Mr. White opened the business of the meeting by proposing the application to the legislature for a charter for a company to improve the Schuylkill for a slack-water navigation by dams and locks. This was the commencement of the present Schuylkill Navigation Company, which was incorporated in 1815. But those who first proposed the plan to the public, were considered by the first subscribers to the stock, to be too much interested at the Falls of Schuylkill to be entrusted with a share in the management of the company.

During the war, Virginia coal became very scarce, and Messrs. White and Hazard having been told by Mr. Joshua Malin, that he had succeeded in making use of Lehigh coal in his rolling mill, procured a cart-load of it, which cost them one dollar per bushel. This quantity was entirely wasted without getting up the requisite heat. Another cart-load was however obtained, and a whole night spent in endeavouring to make a fire in the furnace, when the hands shut the furnace door and left the mill in despair. Fortunately one of them left his jacket in the mill, and returning for it in about half an hour, noticed that the door was red hot, and upon opening it, was surprised at finding the whole furnace at a glowing white heat. The other hands were summoned, and four separate parcels of iron were heated and rolled by the same fire, before it required re-

newing. The furnace was then replenished, and as *letting it alone* had succeeded so well, it was concluded to try it again, and the experiment was repeated with the same result.

From that time they continued the use of anthracite coal, which they received from Schuylkill county in wagons, and occasionally in flats by the freshets, and from the Lehigh, in one of Messrs. Miner & Co.'s arks. In November, 1817, they proposed purchasing a mine in Schuylkill County, to supply themselves and others with coal, and applied to the president of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, to know what toll would be charged on coal, when the navigation was completed; his reply was, "that the law had fixed the toll, and the "managers would not feel authorized to change "it." It was alleged that the law allowed more toll than the coal would be worth when brought down, and if adhered to, would prevent any being brought, as the Lehigh could afford a cheaper supply. "*That can't be helped,*" was the reply.

In January, 1818, Messrs. White and Hazard, joined by Mr. Hauto, obtained the control of the Lehigh Coal Mine Company's lands. In the succeeding March, a law was obtained, granting to them, *as individuals*, the same powers and privileges on the Lehigh as are usually granted to navigation companies, with only the additional privilege of trying the experiment of a navigation by means of artificial freshets.

In July following, the Lehigh Navigation Com-

pany, and in October, the Lehigh Coal Company were formed, which together were the foundation of the present Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, as will appear by the preamble to their Charter, passed in 1822. The improvement of the Lehigh was commenced in August, 1818. In 1820, only two years from the commencement, coal was sent to Philadelphia, by the artificial navigation, and sold at \$ 8 40 per ton, delivered, about half the price it had ever been offered for previously, and about as much as the Schuylkill Company were, at that time, authorized to demand for toll. In 1821 and 1822, the quantities were so much increased, that the public became secure of a supply, and its own good qualities, together with its reasonable price, gave it an extensive and rapidly increasing demand. At this period, anthracite coal may be said to be permanently introduced into use. In 1824, the Lehigh Company reduced the price of coal to \$ 7, at which it has continued. In 1825, coal first came to Philadelphia by the improved navigation of the Schuylkill—the quantity was 5378 tons. In 1826, 16,265 tons of coal were transported on the Schuylkill, and 31,280 tons on the Lehigh. And now, January, 1827, anthracite coal promises to become the largest and most profitable staple of Pennsylvania; and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, who alone are entitled to the credit of rendering it such, together with the legislature who incorporated them, deserve to be handed down to posterity, with the grateful remembrance

of a community, who have received at their hands the means of maintaining a lucrative and extensive commerce with all the other States of the Union. This certainly will not be denied them, when it is recollected that they have effected their object at their own expense and risk, with no pecuniary aid from the government, and with the knowledge, that seven previous laws, some of them including large grants of money, had been passed, and three previous companies had been formed, which all failed to produce the desired effect.

NOTE.—The first dam across the Schuylkill was built in 1816, at the falls, four miles from the city, by Messrs. White and Gillingham, under a contract with the company. This improvement has since been flooded by the dam at Fairmount.

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*Wilksbarré, December 1st, 1826.*

ESTEEMED COUSIN,

When I saw thee last, I believe I promised to write to thee and give thee some data about the first discovery and use of the stone-coal, in our valley. (I call it stone-coal, because every body knows what is meant by that name.)

The late Judge Gore, in his lifetime, informed me, that he and his brother, the late Captain Daniel Gore, (both being blacksmiths,) were the first that discovered and used this coal in their blacksmith's fires, and found it to answer their purpose well. This was before the revolutionary war, and, as near

as I can collect information, about the year 1770, or 1771, and it has been in use ever since, by the blacksmiths of the place.

In the year 1788, I used it in nailery, and found it to be profitable in that business. The nails made with it, would neat the weight of the rods, and frequently a balance over. But it was the opinion of those that worked it in their furnaces, that it would not do for fuel, because when a small parcel was left on their fires and not blown, it would go out. Notwithstanding this opinion prevailed, I had, for some time, entertained the idea that if a sufficient body of it was ignited, it would burn. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1808; I procured a grate, made of small iron rods, ten inches in depth and ten inches in height, and set it up in my common-room fireplace, and on first lighting it found it to burn excellently well. This was the first successful attempt to burn *our* stone-coal in a grate, so far as my knowledge extends. On its being put in operation, my neighbours flocked to see the novelty; but many would not believe the fact until convinced by ocular demonstration. Such was the effect of this pleasing discovery, that in a few days there were a number of grates put in operation. This brought the stone-coal into popular notice. I need not mention the many uses to which it may be applied, as you, who are in the coal concern, have the means of knowing its value.

I find we have various qualities of coal, but our best specimens are said to be superior to any yet

known, and we have it in sufficient quantity to supply the world. Here it is—but the best way of getting it to market is yet to be discovered.

The market at present is down the Susquehanna River, but great improvements must be made in the river ere it can be a safe and sure conveyance. Looking forward, Wilkesbarré is but about eleven miles from Lehigh below the junction of all the creeks you pass, from the Pokono to Wilkesbarré mountain. This, I suppose, is known, and I believe the principal transport of our coal will, in time, pass that way and down the Lehigh; but this I do not expect to live to see.

I am, thy affectionate cousin,

JESSE FELL.

JONATHAN FELL.

**SKETCHES**  
**OF THE**  
**HISTORY OF BYBERRY,**  
**IN THE**  
**COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,**  
**WITH**  
**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES**  
**OF**  
**SOME OF THE FIRST SETTLERS,**  
**AND OTHER**  
**DISTINGUISHED INHABITANTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.**  
**BY**  
**ISAAC COMLY.**

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*Presented to the Council, May 23d, 1827.*





## SKETCHES, &c.

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**BYBERRY TOWNSHIP** lies in the north-east end of the county of Philadelphia, distant from the city between thirteen and sixteen miles. It is bounded by the Manor of Mooreland, and the Townships of Lower Dublin, Bensalem, and Southampton. Its length is about five miles, its breadth variable, at most about three miles. It contains five thousand nine hundred and sixty-six acres; one hundred and forty-six dwelling houses, and in 1820, eight hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants. In the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was stated to be seven hundred and sixty-seven, of whom three hundred and sixty were males, three hundred and seventy-four females, and thirty-three blacks.

We are told that the family of the Waltons, who were among the first settlers, gave it the name of Byberry, in reference to a place of that name where they dwelt in England.

The face of the country possesses an agreeable distribution of inequalities, and there are some fine rising grounds, particularly in the upper section of the Township. Edge hill crosses the northern corner, near to which is the source of Poquesink creek: this stream forms the line between the counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, and empties into the Delaware half a mile below White sheet bay. Poquesink and its western branches, water most of the farms in Byberry.

The geological features of the township are not striking. Dr. Troost in his survey observes, "we are still here in the gneiss formation containing a subsoil of blue loam. The amphibolic rocks project above the ground to the west of Smithfield, and going more north we meet in the northern part of Byberry Township near the commencement of the Poquesink creek, the mica slate."

The soil for cultivation is a sandy loam from six to eight inches deep, lying on a stiff loamy subsoil, of from four to six feet deep.

In the neighbourhood of Townsend's mill, where the Poquesink winds between two stony ridges, there is the singular appearance of two natural abutments of rock opposite each other, as if Nature had intended to lend her aid in the construction of a bridge over the stream. Whether these rocks, so similar in all respects, and the apparent broken ends so nearly corresponding with each other, have ever been one solid body, and separated by some convulsion of nature, or the effect been gradually produced by the constant attrition of the water, we must leave others to conjecture.

About three quarters of a mile further down the creek near the road to Dunk's ferry, a point six or eight perches in breadth appears to have once projected from the western bank, twelve or fifteen perches into the valley. It is supposed that the Poquesink formerly passed round it; but that the current striking directly against its base, the forcible attacks of large freshets at length undermined the hill, and a passage from the creek was opened through it. This aperture is three or four perches in width, and the point of the hill near twenty feet in height, and of the dimensions of half an acre, detached from the adjacent promontory, is left standing in the valley alone.

In a rock on Aaron Walton's land is a representation of

the print of a man's foot. This and a similar appearance in a rock near the mouth of Poquesink, have long been considered as natural curiosities.

It is observable that the water-courses in Byberry are much inclined to the western side of the vallies—that the grounds on this side are most prominent—and generally found to contain the best stone for building. It is rare to find a good quarry on the eastern side of the vallies, or in any of the level lands.

The timber most natural to the soil, is—hickory; black, white, red, and Spanish oak; poplar, chestnut, maple, sassafras, beech, dog-wood, red cedar, gum, persimmon, wild cherry, and in one place, pine.

There are three grist-mills in the township, two saw-mills, several retail stores, and shops for mechanics of different kinds; but no factory, nor tavern. The inhabitants generally are farmers, and a majority are members or professors with the Society of Friends. There are a few Episcopalians, Baptists, and Presbyterians, and some that make little profession with any religious denomination. The Friends' meeting house is near the centre of the township.

Byberry was settled early after the arrival of William Penn, in 1682. When the white people first came here, we are informed they found but few large trees standing, though plenty of saplings and underbrush; and in some places, particularly in Mooreland, the ground was covered with coarse grass that grew as high as a man's head. Indian darts made of flint, have often been found, and sometimes stone axes and other curious implements of Indian manufacture.

A tradition says, that the first persons who settled here were Giles Knight and Josiah Ellis. By the ancient records of the meeting and other documents, it appears, the

following named persons settled in and near Byberry, in 1683-84, and 85. Giles Knight, John Hart, John Carver, Nathaniel Walton, Walter Forrest, Daniel Walton, William Walton, William Hibbs, Henry English, John Gilbert, Thomas Knight, William Nichols, William Rush, Samuel Ellis, Thomas Walton, Richard Collett, and Joseph English. Nearly all of them members of the Society of Friends.

In the 5th mo. 1683, at a Quarterly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, "it was then and there agreed and concluded, "that there be established a first day meeting of Friends at "Tookany and Poetquesink, and that these two make one "monthly meeting, men and women, for the ordering of "the affairs of the church." The monthly meeting was accordingly held first at Oxford, then at John Hart's house, and so alternately. The following certificate issued by this body, is preserved for its antiquity.

*"To Friends of ye monthly meeting about the Falls of Delaware in ye county of Bucks.*

"Whereas James Morris and Eliz. Buzby who formerly "belonged to our meeting did in the seventh month appear "at our monthly meeting and declare their intentions of "marriage, and they did produce certificates and testimony "sufficient to satisfy us of their clearness, and after deliberation and enquiry we did permit them to proceed to accomplish their marriage. But so y<sup>t</sup> they have been "from us absent, we are informed y<sup>t</sup> they belong to your "meeting and now they desired a certificate from us.

"These are to certify that thus far they have proceeded "and we have not any thing against y<sup>m</sup> to obstruct y<sup>m</sup> to "your meeting in order to y<sup>e</sup> accomplishing their marriage, "and we remain your friends and Bretheren. At our "monthly meeting at John Hart's house on Poetquesin

"creek in y<sup>e</sup> county of Philada. y<sup>e</sup> 2d of y<sup>e</sup> 4th mo.  
"1684.

"JOHN CARVER	WALTER FORREST
"GILES KNIGHT	RICH <sup>d</sup> TOWNSEND
"JOHN HART	WILL <sup>m</sup> PRESTON
"HENRY WADDY	SAM <sup>l</sup> HART
"SAM <sup>l</sup> ELLIS	
"JOSEPH ENGLISH	ANN SESSIONS
"THO: KITCHIN	ANN TOWNSEND
"RICH <sup>d</sup> DUNGWORTH	DOROTHY DUNGWORTH."

It is probable that Friends about Byberry first held their meetings for worship at John Hart's house,\* and afterwards at Giles Knight's;† but on the first of 4th mo. 1685, the monthly meeting "ordered that the meeting "which of late hath been kept at Giles Knight's, be re-  
"moved to the house of John Hart," and 26th of 11th mo. 1686, the record says, "it was agreed that there be a meet-  
"ing at the house of Henry English once a month—first  
"days."

A minute of the monthly meeting, 28th of 5th mo. 1685, says, "Friends did freely accept of ten acres of  
"land, given by Walter Forrest for a burying ground for  
"the service of Friends near Poetquesink creek, and it is  
"left to the trust and care of Joseph Fisher, John Hart,  
"Samuel Ellis, and Giles Knight, to get the ground sur-  
"veyed, and a deed of conveyance to be made from Wal-  
"ter Forrest to themselves, for the only use and behoof of  
"Friends forever, and that from henceforth it shall be made  
"use of for the service aforesaid." No further account ap-  
pears respecting this business. Whether Friends ever oc-  
cupied said ground is uncertain, and it is not now known

\* Where Francis Ingraham, Jun. now lives.

† Where David Comfort lives.

where it was to be located. Walter Forrest's last will is dated "y<sup>e</sup> 18th of y<sup>e</sup> 1st month 1691-2." In it, he bequeaths a mill and lands in Byberry, one half to his wife, and the other half to three persons of the name of Albertson. It is probable his decease took place soon after the date of his will.

We are told that before any burial ground was provided by Friends, Giles Knight lost two of his children, and they were interred on his own land, near Poquesink, not far from where Knight's mill-dam now is. Soon after, the records mention "burials at John Hart's, on the creek "Poequesy." This ground appears to have been used by Friends as a place of interment from 1683 to the Keithian separation. Aurelia Rush, wife of William, was buried there in 1683; Joseph English in 1686; and William Rush\* in 1688. After the separation, it was used by the Keithians and others. This ancient cemetery, containing one acre, was bequeathed in 1786 by one of John Hart's heirs, to the township of Byberry, for a burying place for the inhabitants for ever.

In temporal concerns, the first settlers had much difficulty

\* William Rush and his wife Aurelia Rush, were ancestors of Dr. Rush. John Rush, the father of William, commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army. After the war, he married Susannah Lucas at Hartan in Oxfordshire, June 8th, 1648. He embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1660, and came to Pennsylvania in 1683, with seven children and several grandchildren, and settled in Byberry, thirteen miles from Philadelphia. In 1691 he and his whole family became Keithians, and in 1697 most of them became Baptists. He died in 1699. His sword is in the possession of James Rush, M. D. as is also his watch. He had issue seven sons and three daughters, as appears from his own handwriting in his family Bible, now in the possession of the family. The Rush family owned a farm, (now Jona. Parry's,) on the west branch of Poquesink, in the lower end of Byberry. Dr. Rush, and his brother Judge Rush, were born at this place. In Hart's burying ground is a tomb stone, with an inscription in memory of James Rush, who died March 26, 1726-7, aged forty-eight years and ten months.

to encounter, particularly in regard to a supply of provisions. The Indians near them treated them with kindness: they occasionally furnished such eatables as they could spare, and instructed the new comers to raise corn, beans, and pumpkins. Giles Knight and Josiah Ellis, once went five miles to procure beans of the Indians, and obtained half a bushel. Bread and meat were very scarce. Some horses, cows, sheep, and hogs had been brought into the province, but the settlers were not generally able to obtain a sufficient stock for several years. When they travelled, they had to go on foot; and as to meat, very little could be had, except a precarious supply of venison or bear meat, which with wild pigeons, fish, and beans, pumpkins or boiled corn, were thought good enough for a feast. The first wheat sowed in these parts, was brought from near Old Chester by two men on their shoulders—each carried about half a bushel. It is said one of these persons was John Carver: his wife, child, and a small boy were left at home, upon what he thought a sufficient supply of provision for their support till his return; but some unforeseen hindrances kept him longer on the journey than was expected, and unfortunately the only cow they had, and upon whose milk they made much calculation for sustenance, got into the swamp and died. The poor woman by this accident was reduced to great difficulty, and concluded she must apply to some Indians not far distant, for assistance; she accordingly took the children, and went to their settlement. The Indians treated her with much kindness, furnished her and the children with victuals, and taking off the little boy's trowsers, they filled them with corn for her to carry home for their further supply.

The dwelling houses first erected were small, rough, log buildings, and generally situated convenient to a spring of water. Giles Knight dwelt about six weeks by the side of an old log, near the banks of Poquesink. The Indians then



instructed him in the erection of a wigwam, in which he resided till he raised a small log house, about half a mile south-east of the present meeting house. William Nichols was so poor, that in 1684 the meeting at Poetquesink "allowed him four shillings per week," on account of his "being in penury."

Great hardships were endured by the settlers for several years; but they were industrious and economical, and kind and obliging one to another. Their situation gradually improved, and brighter prospects were continually opening. Harmony prevailed among them, and religious unity was maintained in general, till 1691, when the disturbances raised by George Keith reached them. The controversy was carried on so sharply amongst the members of the meeting of Poetquesink, that a division took place. John Hart, Nathaniel Walton, and divers others in the southern part of the neighbourhood, adopted the Keithian profession and creed, and kept possession of the meeting.\* John Carver, Giles Knight, Daniel Walton, Henry English, and some others, whose residence was nearer the centre of Byberry, withdrew from the Keithians, and held their meetings at Henry English's house, which stood in Walmsley old orchard, near half a mile south-east of the present meeting house.

The meeting of the Keithians soon vanished. Some of them turned Episcopalians, and are said to have been concerned in founding All Saints church in Lower Dublin. Others attached themselves to a Keithian meeting in Southampton. Most of these afterwards turned Baptists. John Hart was one of them. Edwards, in his Materials towards a History of the Baptists, gives the following sketch of his life and character:—

\* It is said Friends had a meeting house near John Hart's; but of this the records give no account.

"John Hart was born Nov. 16, 1651, at Whitney, in Oxfordshire, came to this country early, and preached among the Quakers to 1691, at which time he separated with George Keith, and was one of the forty-eight who signed the reasons of that separation. From the separation in 1691 he preached to a society of Keithians meeting at the house of John Swift in Southampton, Bucks county. About 1697, he, and some of the society, embraced the principles of the Baptists. The ordinance was administered to them by one Thomas Rutter. In 1702, he and the society joined Pennepac, where he was assistant minister. Hart was not ordained; but was reckoned a good preacher and a most pious Christian. The last words he uttered were, 'now I know to a demonstration that Christ died to save me.' His wife's name was Susanna Rush, by whom he had children, John, Joseph, Thomas, Josiah, and Mary. These formed alliances with the Crispin, Miles, Paulin, and Dungan families, and have raised him upwards of twenty grandchildren."

Nathaniel Walton married Martha Bownel of Philadelphia, in 1685, and had several children. In a letter which he wrote to his brother William, dated, "Bibury y<sup>e</sup> 7th of October 1713," he says he paid for William's passage to this country, £5 sterling; that he laboured hard for this money in Old England at a groat a day; that the principal and compound interest which he had forborne thirty years and upwards, had almost come to £200 old currency; that William had got him nothing, but might see he had made a man of him to that very day; and that he most certainly expected him to pay some way or other to his content; not, he adds, because he could not do without it, for, he blessed God, he had plenty of every thing, but because it was his due, and William was able to pay it.

Edwards, in his account of the Keithian Quakers, says, "They soon declined. Their head deserted them and went

“over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither. Some returned to the Penn Quakers, and some went to other societies. Nevertheless, many persisted in the separation. These by resigning themselves to the guidance of Scripture, began to find water in the commission, Matt. 28—19. Bread and wine in the command, Matt. 26—26, 30. Community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples feet, in other texts—Acts 2—41, 47. Jude 12. Rom. 16—16. Gal. 2—9. Joh. 13. Jam. 5—14, 16.”

Again, the same author tells us, “The Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists. They were called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress and manners of the Quakers. The Keithian or Quaker Baptists, ended in another kind of transformation into Seventh day Baptists, though some went among the First day Baptists and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in this province.”

The meeting of Friends at Byberry having survived the wreck of discord and controversy, the 2d of 1st mo. 1694, Henry English gave one acre of ground for its use, to John Carver and Daniel Walton as trustees. The deed specifies that the said one acre is for “the use of the people of God called Quakers, who are, or shall be and continue in unity and religious fellowship with Friends of truth, and shall belong unto the monthly meeting of the said people, for whose use the said piece of ground is intended to be employed as a burying place, and to no other use or service whatsoever, provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of the parties hereunto, that no person or persons who shall be declared by the members of the monthly or quarterly meeting whereunto he or they shall belong, to be out of unity with them, shall have any right

“or interest in the said piece of ground hereby granted, while he or they shall remain out of unity and church fellowship with those people to whom he or they did so belong unto.”

Shortly after this, a log building was erected on the lot for a meeting-house, and a burying ground was enclosed. The meeting-house stood in the northern quarter of the present grave-yard. In 1714, Friends erected, a few feet further eastward, a commodious stone meeting-house, about thirty by fifty feet, with galleries above stairs. For the completion of this building they borrowed £ 50 of James Kooper on interest, which was paid off by the assistance of the monthly meeting in 1723.

The number of Friends in the neighbourhood gradually increased. About 1690, John Brock settled near Smithfield. In 1697, Henry Comly purchased the manor house and a part of Moore's tract in Mooreland, and about the same time we find John Dunkin, William Beale, and Abel Hinkson settled in the adjoining part of Bensalem. Soon after, Thomas Groom settled in the upper end of the township, and Everard Bolton in Southampton. About 1713, Thomas Walmsley settled near the middle of Byberry, and Samuel Scott in Bensalem. The monthly meeting was held for some years alternately at Byberry, Oxford, and Cheltenham. In 1702 it was held at Abington,\* and finally settled there. Byberry continued attached to it till 1783.

27 of 4 mo. 1692, The records mention that there was read in the meeting “a paper of condemnation given forth by a meeting of public friends at Philadelphia, against George Keith and his separate company.” In the latter end of the same year, they notice the reception and reading of three other papers on the same subject—from Bridge-

\* Abington meeting was originally held in the old brick house, now John Livezey's, in Lower Dublin.

town six weeks meeting in Barbadoes, the yearly meeting at Tredaven in Maryland, and William Richardson, of West River. Some years after a few individuals are noticed, who returned to the society, after having "gone out in the separation with George Keith."

26 of 10 mo. 1698. The records say "there hath been a complaint against Wm. Hibbs, concerning his disorderly behaviour in keeping on his hat when William Walton was at prayer in their meeting." At the next monthly meeting, it is said, "Wm. Hibbs being sorry for his disorderly behaviour, promiseth to do so no more."

27 of 6 mo. 1716. "At this meeting Thomas Walton appeared, and seemed to be somewhat sorry that he had indulged his children, and that for the future he hopes to be more careful, and desires friends to pass it by."

31 of 1 mo. 1718. "Whereas, friends of Byberry have made complaint that friends children do frequent shooting matches, being a practice that tends to the corruption of youth, and being dealt with some about it, viz. John Brock and his brother Oddy, who have acknowledged their fault and given the meeting satisfaction, as also for being in other vain practices."

Very early after the settlement of Byberry meeting, Friends manifested a concern to promote good order, and especially to inculcate the necessity of it amongst their young people. In 2nd mo. 1695, John Carver was "appointed to take care of the youth, concerning their orderly walking as becomes the truth they make profession of;" and in 12th mo. same year, John Carver and John Brock were "appointed to put in practice the counsel of the yearly meeting, to admonish those that profess God's truth and do not walk answerable thereto." This appears to have been the origin of the appointment of overseers. Those who were chosen to attend to this service in succession from this time to 1740, were John Brock, Abel Hink-

son, William Beale, Thomas Groom, John Carver, Everard Bolton, John Dunkin, Henry Comly, John Carver 2d. Thomas Knight, son of Giles, Edmond Dunkin, Thomas Walton, William Dunkin, George James, Jonathan Knight, Joseph Gilbert, Evan Thomas.

Giles Knight, the patriarch of the Knight family in this neighbourhood, was from Gloucestershire, and came with his wife Mary and son Joseph, in company with William Penn, in 1682. On the passage, Mary was extremely sick, so that her survival to the end of the voyage was very doubtful. On their arrival up the Delaware, she was carried ashore in a blanket and laid on the bank: she then observed that she had been fully persuaded in her mind she should not die till she saw America; but now she had landed here, she could not tell how it would go with her. She recovered, and afterwards had twelve children. Giles was one of the heads of Byberry meeting. He died in 1726, in his seventy-fourth year, and Mary in 1732, in her seventy-seventh year.

The following certificate for Giles Knight to go to England, furnishes some idea of his circumstances and character.

"To our well beloved friends and Bretheren in the truth,  
"at Nailsworte in Glosester shier, or elsewhere, we send  
"Greetinge:

"Signifieing that our Ancient friend Giles Knight having  
"some occasion to see his native Cuntrey, and his outward  
"business requirring his personall appearance, doth induce  
"him as well as affection to undertake his vyage to see his  
"old friends, now having made aplication to our Mo. met-  
"ting in order to have a certificate, and persons apeinted to  
"make Enquiry how he leaues his family, And withall if  
"the Ship could not stay vrtill our next monthly meeting  
"he mought have a Certificate sighn'd by the perticulare  
"meetg where he belongs: to witt, Bibery.

"These may Certifie that Enquiry being made, And noe

"objection found, wee recomend him as An Elder and one  
 "well Esteemed by vs for many yeares, hauing Left his  
 "family with a great deal of Loue; he has had that great  
 "comfort in haue sober and well Inclined Children; And  
 "the Lord has blest him with outward substance, which we  
 "hope may be well disposed to his hopeful ofspring. We  
 "hartily wish the Lord may spare his life to see his friends  
 "and family agayne, hauing left vs in unity and Loue.  
 "We wish and pray for his preservation in the truth with  
 "all the faythful throughout the wholle world. We salute  
 "you and bid you farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sighned at Bibery ye 8th 7 mo. 1717 by order of Ab-  
 "ington mo. mett'g.

"JAMES COOPER	WILLIAM WALTON
"HENRY COMLY	THO. WALTON
"JAMES DUNKAN	THOMAS KNIGHT
"JOHN CARVER	HENRY ENGLISH
"JAMES CARVER	GEORGE JAMES
"EDMUND DUNKAN	EVERARD BOLTON
"JOHN BROCK	ALEXANDER MODE
"JOSEPH GILBERT	THOMAS MARTIN"
"THOMAS KNIGHT	
"DANIEL KNIGHT	
"JONATHAN KNIGHT	

William Walton was the youngest of four brothers, who settled in and near Byberry. He married Sarah Howell, in 1689, and had ten children, viz. Rachel, Isaac, Jeremiah, Jacob, Sarah, William, Abel, Job, Hannah, and Mary. He was a long time at the head of Byberry meeting, being esteemed as a valuable minister of the Gospel, for upwards of forty years. In 1721, accompanied by Richard Buzby, he performed a "visit in the service of truth, in Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina," and produced on his return "several certificates signifying their, (friends,) great satisfaction and unity in their visit of

"love." In 1723, in company with Henry Comly, he made a family visit to the members of Byberry meeting. He died the 9th of 12th mo. 1736-7.

John Carver, from Hertfordshire, maltster, and Mary his wife, came over with William Penn, in 1682. Their daughter Mary, who married Isaac Knight, of Abington, is stated to have been "one of the first children born of "English parents in Pennsylvania." Her birth is dated 28 of 8. mo. 1682, which is four days after Penn's landing at Chester. In a printed memorial concerning her, it is said, "she was born in or near Philadelphia." John and Mary Carver had four other children, John, Ann, James, and Richard. John possessed a large landed property in Byberry, and continued his occupation of maltster after his settlement here. He was a valuable member of religious society. His decease was about 1714. A succession of John Carvers to the sixth, have resided on the same farm to the present time.

Henry English married Hannah West, in 1686; after her decease, he married Hannah Hibbs, widow of William, 1712. Previous to the last marriage, he conveyed to his said intended wife one hundred and twenty-four acres of land, by deed dated 27 of March, 1711, expressing therein that it was "in consideration of the love and good will "and affection which he had and did bear towards his loving "friend Hannah Hibbs." We are told Henry English had no children. He died about 1723.

Thomas Walton settled in Mooreland back of Edge hill. He married Priscilla Hume, of Philadelphia, about 1689, and had several children. He died in 1758, aged near one hundred years!

Daniel Walton married Mary Lamb in 1688—his children were, Nathan, Benjamin, Joshua, Joseph, Daniel, Samuel, and Mary. He died in 1719.

Henry Comly was a native of Bedminster, in Somer-



setshire, and came to Pennsylvania with his parents, Henry and Joan Comly, in 1682. The family first settled in Bucks County, but the father died within two years after. In 1695 Henry married Agnes Heaton. They had eleven children—Alice, Mary, Henry, Robert, John, Joseph, Walter, Agnes, James, Isaac, and Grace. Henry was prosperous in his business, and was considered a useful member of religious society. He died 16th of 1st mo. 1726-7, at the age of fifty-three.

Thomas Walmsley and his brother, Henry Walmsley, were brought to this country by their parents, the one nine, and the other seven years old, with a younger sister, and landed in Burlington, N. Jersey, in 1682. Their father, Thomas Walmsley,\* had conceived the idea of possessing

\* We happen to have at hand a copy of a certificate from Settle monthly meeting, Yorkshshire, (the original of which is now in the possession of Robert Waln, Esq.) which we append, as it confirms the correctness of this part of the "Sketches," and is worthy of preservation for its antiquity. We may further add, on the authority of the above named gentleman, that this party of Friends came to this country in the ship *Welcome*, with William Penn. The discrepancy in the number of children may perhaps be accounted for by deaths on the passage, as it is known that above thirty persons died of the small-pox during the voyage.

#### COPY.

*"From Settle Monthly Meeting, the 7th of the 4th month, 1682.*

"These are to certifie all whom it may concern that it is manifested  
 "to us that a necessity is layd upon severall friends belonging this  
 "monthly meeting to remove into Pensilvania and particularly our  
 "dear friend Cuthbert Hayhurst, (his wife and family,) who has been  
 "and is a labourer in the truth for whose welfare and prosperity we  
 "are unanimously concerned, and also for our friends Thomas Wrights-  
 "worth, and also his wife; Thomas Walmsley, Elisabeth his wife and  
 "six children; Thomas Chroasdale, Agnes his wife and six children;  
 "Thomas Stackhouse, and Marjory his wife; Nicholas Waln, his wife  
 "and three children; Ellen Cowgill and her family; who we believe  
 "are faithfull friends in their measures and single in their intentions

himself of lands and water power in this country, and had purchased a tract of land on the Neshamony creek, in Bucks county, before he left England. He also brought with him such machinery as he thought could not be procured here, to facilitate the erection of mills, &c.; but being seized with the dysentery, died within a fortnight after his arrival, aged forty years, and the young children were consequently left under the care of their mother. Thomas when grown up, first settled in Bucks County, and married Mary Paxson, daughter of Wm. Paxson. He had two sons, Thomas and William, and seven or eight daughters. He possessed a large landed estate, in and near Byberry, and was esteemed as a man of wealth and respectability. He lived to the age of near eighty, and died 1754. Mary died in 1755, aged about seventy nine. Their son Thomas Walmsley, Jun. deceased 30th of 6th mo. 1728—his death was occasioned by being thrown off his horse in descending a short steep hill near Clayton's on the Horsham road. He had been married a short time before, and left no male issue.

In 1728 died Everard Bolton. The monthly meeting

"to remove into y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Pensilvania in America, there to inhabit  
 "if y<sup>e</sup> Lord permit, and we do certifie unity with their said intentions  
 "and desire their prosperity in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and hopes what is done by  
 "them will lead to y<sup>e</sup> advancement of the truth in which we are una-  
 "nimously concerned with them.

(Sig'd)

"SAMUEL WATSON  
 "GEORGE THOMSON  
 "JAMES CONNANT  
 "JOHN MOORE, Jr.  
 "GEORGE BLAND  
 "JOHN HALL  
 "NICHOLAS FRANKLAND  
 "JOHN DRINDER  
 "THOMAS RUDD  
 "ANTHONY DROSEND  
 "CH. JOHNSON."

records state, he had "been a useful member near forty years."

Abel Hinkson\* died in 11th month, 1747. He was one of the elders of Byberry meeting about twenty-eight years, and appears to have supported the dignified character of a religious, upright, and consistent man. His daughter Susanna married George James in 1715, and had two children, Abel and Elizabeth. Abel James was born at the residence of his grandfather Hinkson on Poquesink creek—he married Thomas Chalkley's daughter, Rebecca, and established himself in an extensive mercantile concern in Philadelphia. He was much esteemed for his benevolence, and distinguished himself as an active member of the "Friendly association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures," in 1757.

The children of the first settlers were generally on the stage of active life by the year 1720. They had been educated in habits of industry and rigid economy. But many of them had very little school learning, and some of them did not even know how to read, or write their own names. They were however possessed of health, strength, activity and vigour, and delighted in the exercises of chopping, grubbing, fencing, and farming—shooting wild turkies, and hunting bears and raccoons.

The land was productive, and large crops of wheat were raised. It was gathered with sickles, and commonly put up in stacks till threshed. Barns were not then projected upon the commodious scale of modern times. Such as they had were of simple construction—two log pens of about eight or ten feet high, with a threshing floor between them and thatched roof over the whole. Wagons for hauling were difficult to obtain. Sleds were first used to gather the grain from the fields, and when it was ready for the mar-

\* Abel Hinkson resided at the place late Asa Knight's.

ket, it was carried to Pennepac mills on horses. A tongue cart was afterwards brought into use, and was considered a great convenience and improvement among the utensils of a farm. Harness for ploughing, hauling, &c. was generally of home manufacture. Collars were made of straw, or the tops of calamus ingeniously plaited, and traces were tow or hemp ropes made sufficiently strong.

The timber by this time was grown to a good size, straight and handsome. We are told that Job Walton split 3600 rails in one week, the logs being cut off for him, and the wood of the best kind for working easy. With such expedition and plenty of timber, the ground that was cleared might soon be sufficiently fenced. It nevertheless was customary to ditch and plant privet hedges for enclosures. These hedges were probably introduced early on account of the scarcity of rail timber. When well grown they made a good barrier against the encroachments of horses, cattle, hogs, and wild beasts. They made a pleasing appearance to the eye when in blossom, and the berries served through the dreary part of the winter for sustenance to multitudes of wild pigeons. These hedges nearly all died a few years before the revolution.

Old people used to tell us that the winters formerly were more remarkable for cold weather, and that there was more snow than of latter time. In the hard winter of 1740, the snow covered the fences; and the crust on the top of it was so firm that it would bear sleds and horses, so that people could travel in any direction, without reference to roads. We are told also of a very moderate winter, the ground being so little frozen that they *could plough all winter with the exception of two or three days.*

The extraordinary wet harvest in 1719 was long remembered. A small quantity of wheat was secured before the rains commenced—much of it was in shock, and was so

damaged by the grain growing, that the shocks were all green with it. Even the heads of the standing wheat grew in like manner.

The earliest records extant of the preparative meeting of Friends at Byberry, bear date 18th of 2d mo. 1721. The first is "a superscription towards maintaining the poor." These records for many years relate chiefly to the pecuniary concerns of the society, being generally what are often termed "superscriptions begun" for relief of the poor, to pay persons for taking care of the meeting-house, and other occasions. The following are noted for their singularity.

6 of 1 mo. 1725. "A superscription to defraying y<sup>e</sup> charges of a family of friends taken captive by the Indians at New England for their redemption."

22 of 3 mo. 1725. "A superscription for to defray the charges to the healing of a young man that broke his leg at Hosom."

23 of 4 mo. 1736. "A superscription begun to help Daniel Penington to make up part of his loss, being burnt out."

In 1740, William Duncan was chosen clerk of the meeting; the term *subscription* instead of *superscription* was afterwards used at the head of the collection paper. Duncan continued clerk till 1751, when he was succeeded by William Walmsley.

The contributors to the collections in 1721, were William Walton, Giles Knight, John Donkon, Abel Hingston, Joseph Gilbert, Henry Comly, Thomas Groom, William Carver, George James, Thomas Knight, John Carver, Thomas Knight, son of G. K., John Worthington, Thomas Walton, Edmond Donkon, Samuel Scott, Thomas Walton, jr. Jonathan Knight, Edward Parry, Ely Welding, Daniel Evans, Jno. Beale, Nathaniel Edgcom, William Carver, jr. James Carver, Stephen Townsend, Nicholas Williams, Ni-

cholas Tucker, Henry English, Daniel Walton, Daniel Knight, Ody Brock, Elizabeth Beale, Mary Walton, Margaret Esborn, Hannah Evans.\*

About the time of the decease of William Walton, in 1737, another preacher appeared at Byberry meeting, named Samuel Jackson, but we have no definite account of his character, nor what became of him. His name occurs in the collection lists for about two years. Thomas Walton, jr. was also a preacher. It is said he generally spoke when no other preacher was present, and rarely otherwise. He was not a recommended minister, and was disowned in 1764, for want of punctuality in the discharge of his contracts.

In 1743, one William Knight distinguished himself by being "troublesome to Friends in presuming and taking on himself to preach, &c. and his conversation and behaviour being scandalous," and not being "looked upon as one of the society," Friends thought "proper to show their dislike and disunion to him and his performances, as having no unity therewith." A person once pulled him down when preaching—William told him he "need not have done it, for if it was of Christ, he could not stop it, and if it was not of Christ, it would die of itself."

In 1750, Walter and Ann Moore came from Fairfax to reside at Byberry; Ann Moore being a minister highly esteemed by Friends, and Walter sometimes attempted to preach. Sarah Bolton, daughter of Isaac Bolton, a member of Byberry meeting, was acknowledged as a minister in 1752, she being then about twenty-three years of age. In 1753, James Thornton settled here, being recommended by certificate from the Falls, "as a Friend whose conversation is exemplary, and with whose ministry they

\* This list shows the principal members of Byberry Meeting at that time.

"had unity." In the same year, Abraham Griffith came recommended as a minister by certificate from Middletown. About this time, Mary Comly, wife of James Comly, Jacob Scott and Job Walton preached: so that there were then nine public Friends belonging to Byberry meeting, and four of them approved ministers. But shortly after we find this company was dispersed. Job Walton and Walter Moore were disowned for intemperance. Ann Moore removed to Gunpowder, in Maryland, in the latter end of 1753; Jacob Scott to the same place in 1756; Sarah Bolton married and went to Maryland; Mary Comly also removed there with her husband; so that, with the removal of Abraham Griffith, and the decline of Thomas Walton, in a few years no public Friend remained at Byberry, except James Thornton. He stood his ground to the time of his decease, in 1794. He was a native of Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, and was generally esteemed by Friends as a great man and an eminent minister.

Joseph Knight was two years old when his parents, Giles and Mary Knight, brought him to this country. He married in 1717 and settled in Jersey, but returned to Byberry in 1729. He had two children, Giles and Mary. He and his wife Abigail were remarkable for their economical habits. We have frequently heard of a coat the old man wore, which had been so abundantly darned that it was difficult to ascertain its original texture. We have heard of the pound of candles purchased by the old woman for her winter's stock, and having one thrown into the bargain by a generous neighbour, the overplus candle was used all winter, and the pound complete was sold in the spring. Abigail, in the summer time, made cheeses for sale, Joseph took them to Philadelphia: his practice was to go afoot, and carry his shoes till he came near the town; he put them on to go into it, but dispensed with them when he got out again—he thus saved his shoe leather on the

road, and supported his credit in the city. He owned a valuable farm, but does not appear to have accumulated a great deal of money. At the time of his decease, it is said, there was scarcely a whole rail in his fences; they were composed chiefly of broken pieces of old rails, assorted into pannels according to their length. He cut but little live timber; dead trees, broken branches, and old stuff picked up in the woods, furnished his fire-wood. Joseph died in 1762, aged eighty-two years. Abigail died two years after, at about the same age.

It is hoped the reader will have the charity to believe that Joseph Knight was not a miser. His uncommon disposition to suffer nothing to be wasted or lost, was probably the result of his situation in early life, and the circumstances of his education. For he was brought up under all the privations of a new settled country, and very likely was often pinched for the necessary provisions and clothing; and when more prosperous times arrived, his habits had become settled, so that he was content with a little, and travelled comfortably through time in his old way, without hankering after expensive accommodations, or a style of living for which his resources were inadequate. His neighbours respected him as an honest, inoffensive man, and his pilgrimage was closed in peace.

Thomas Knight, brother of Joseph, was a man of more vigorous intellect, not quite so abstemious, but more energetic in regard to business. He married Sarah Clifton, and had one child, that died young. In 1732 he went with Thomas Chalkley to Barbadoes: his residence at that time was on a place in Jersey, owned by Titan Leeds, the almanac maker; he soon after returned to Byberry, where he owned two farms, on which he resided alternately; at each of these places he had a spot selected where he wished to be buried. He died in 1774, aged eighty-eight years and five months.



Daniel Knight, another brother, married Elizabeth Walker in 1719; a few years after, while Daniel was at meeting, Elizabeth left her two young children in the house alone, and hung herself in the stable. As no person had discovered before that she was uneasy with her situation, Daniel felt anxious to know the cause of an act so extraordinary, and for several evenings afterwards he sat alone in the stable where she was found, in hopes that something might present to explain this mystery. At length he said he was satisfied, but never would give any person the least information by what means he became so. In 1738 he married Esther Walton, widow of Joseph Walton, by whom he had six children. He is spoken of as a man of good understanding and sound judgment. He died in 1782, at the age of eighty-five years.

Joseph Gilbert endeavoured to maintain a strict moral discipline in his family; he was rigidly temperate, and bore such a faithful testimony against the slavery of the negroes, that Benjamin Lay could consider him as his intimate friend, and put up at his house when he came to this neighbourhood.\* He also protested against the use of spirituous liquors, especially by abstaining altogether from them himself. He diligently attended religious meetings, and encouraged his family to a regular observance of the same practice. Even the workmen he occasionally employed, were left at liberty to go to meeting with him in the middle of the week: but in case they did not incline to do so, he enjoined them to suspend their labours till he returned. His bodily and mental powers retained their strength and vigor to old age. He generally led his reapers in the harvest: he drank nothing but water,\* and that from the running brook, kept in a jug in the sunshine; but he provided beer

\* Benjamin Lay would not shake hands with a person who kept slaves.

for his workmen. He was one of the elders of Byberry meeting. After the decease of Abel Hinkson, he occupied the head seat, and gave the signal for closing the meeting as long as he was able to attend it. He died in 1765, aged near ninety years.

Thomas Townsend and Sarah his wife, with their two sons, Thomas and John, their daughter Sarah, and her husband Silas Titus, from Westbury on Long Island, removed to Pennsylvania. It is said the old man died in Chester county; the remainder of the family came to Byberry and settled, in 1735. Sarah Townsend afterwards married George James. Silas Titus was a valuable member of religious society. He died in 1752, leaving two sons, who both died with the small-pox in 1757.

William Walmsley, son of Thomas Walmsley before mentioned, was born in 1709. At the age of twenty-six, he married Sarah Titus, of Long Island; at the death of his father he became his principal heir; amongst other property were a number of slaves, which he was early in emancipating after the subject of African slavery began to attract the attention of Friends. Some of the older negroes, however, chose to remain in the family, and were provided for. He had three sons, Thomas, Silas, and William, and two daughters. He was a man of strong mind, wrote a good hand, was very correct in his method of transacting business, and supported an excellent character. At the age of thirty-nine he was chosen an elder of Byberry meeting, and was several years one of its overseers. He died in 1773, aged sixty-four years. The following is a copy of a certificate furnished him on account of marriage.

"Y<sup>e</sup> 24th of 9 mo. 1735. From our monthly meeting  
"of friends of Abington In Philada<sup>a</sup> County and prouince  
"of Pensiluaniah vnto y<sup>e</sup> monthly meeting of friends of  
"Westbury on Long Island, sendth Greeting.

"Dear ffrriends—Whereas ovr friend William Walmsly

"having acquainted vs of his Intention of marrig wiht a  
 "ffriend within the verges of your meting and Request a  
 "few Lins of vs By way of Sertificate for that purpose;  
 "and wee hauing it vnder our Consideration, has apointed  
 "friends to make Enquire In his Conuersacion, who re-  
 "ports he was of a sober and orderly Behauer a frequainter  
 "of our meetings and is in good Eunity with vs Is clear  
 "of all women hereaway on the account of marriage as far  
 "as we can find, soe wee Recomend him to your farther  
 "Care In their accomplishing their Intend marriage. And  
 "soe we shall Conclud with the Salutation of Dear Loue  
 "and Bid you ffairwell—Signed In Behalf & by order of  
 "our meeting, By—

"John Cadwallader, Wm. Walton, Evan Lloyd, Morris  
 "Morris, Tho<sup>s</sup> Wood, Peter Shoemaker, John Cadwallader  
 "Jun<sup>r</sup>, Abel Hingston, Rynier Tyson Sen<sup>r</sup>, Tho. Fitzwa-  
 "ter, Jonathan Knight, George James, John Williams,  
 "John Phipps, John Cunrod, Dan<sup>l</sup> Thomas, James Paul,  
 "Alex. Seaton, John Carver."

Notwithstanding there were some individuals of the second generation, who were men of tolerable information, there was much ignorance amongst the common people, and many superstitious notions were prevalent. Marvellous accounts of witchcraft, apparitions, ominous sights, and strange occurrences, were afloat; and often were made the subjects of conversation at the fire side in long winter evenings. At these and other times of leisure, when neighbours met to amuse themselves by social conference, the cider mug went round freely; many a romantic adventure in pursuit of bears, raccoons, turkies, and wild pigeons, was related; and many an interesting detail given of prodigious performances achieved at manual labour.

The people in those times were hearty in the cause of civil liberty, and ready to repel what they considered encroachments on their rights as citizens, by such means as

were consistent with their peaceable principles. They generally attended the elections, which were then held in Philadelphia, for this part of the county. Most of the Byberry people belonged to the assembly party in opposition to the proprietors. At the time of the mob on the election ground, in 1742, some persons from this neighbourhood were driven off, with many others. As they passed along the street, a cooper who had plenty of hoop poles, chopped them into convenient lengths for clubs, with which they armed themselves, and turning upon the mob, beat and bruised them without much mercy. Several of them were knocked down, and some supposed to be killed. One person from Byberry, relinquished his quaker principles on the occasion, and played the cudgel with his utmost dexterity upon the enemy.

The attempt of the mob to disturb the election, and deter the citizens from appearing at the poll, was considered such a flagrant outrage, that the party to whose interest the mob was attached, was unable, for many years afterwards, to raise itself so as to elect its own men to the assembly. At one election, an old man from Byberry was unable, owing to the crowd that was pressing to the poll, to throw in his vote—he came home, and went on purpose again next day.

The township elections were uniformly held at the Friends' school-house, except once, about the year 1760, when an attempt was made by the officers who had the charge of advertising it, to hold it at a sort of tavern, called "The three tuns," at the cross roads a mile above. The people were opposed to the contemplated change, not only because it was deviating from their usual custom, and relinquishing a central situation; but principally from a belief that the said tavern was a disadvantage to the neighbourhood, and an apprehension that holding the township election there, might introduce some into habits of in-

temperance. Accordingly, nobody attended, except two or three individuals, and the attempt was never repeated while the tavern was continued.

From about 1720, we find, divers of the most opulent persons in and near Byberry, and some of them distinguished members of the meeting, were concerned in the purchase of negroes brought to Philadelphia from the coast of Africa. The number of slaves appears to have increased till about 1758, when Friends issued a formidable protest against slavery. From that time the number rapidly decreased. It does not appear that more than two or three members of Byberry meeting persisted in holding slaves, so far as to suffer disownment. The negroes were generally liberated. Care was taken to provide for those set free, to assist them in procuring a livelihood, and to educate their children. By an assessment made in 1781, we find there were at that time but three slaves in Byberry. At present not only has slavery entirely vanished; but the whole race of those formerly held as slaves in this neighbourhood have vanished also.

The negroes were formerly buried in the orchards belonging to their masters. There was also a cemetery for them on lands late of William Walmsley, where it appears thirty or forty were interred. In 1780, Friends purchased a lot of Thomas Townsend, for a negro burying ground, and the practice of burying on private property was discontinued.

During the revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Byberry were often harassed by unprincipled collectors and lawless parties. Being generally Friends, and restrained by their religious principles from active agency in carrying on the sanguinary contest, they suffered the loss of much valuable property: their horses were taken, sometimes even from the plough; their cattle and hogs were driven off; their corn, wheat, and provender, carried away for the use of

the army, and sometimes their persons seized and conducted to head quarters. The 6th of March 1778, a company called "Lacey's men," set fire to some stacks of wheat near the river; burnt a barn at White Sheet Bay, and two others in the lower end of Byberry. They pretended to do it "by the orders of his excellency," to prevent the grain falling into the hands of the enemy. The company appeared disposed to extend their destructive measures further, but they were prevailed on to desist, by a spirited remonstrance made by James Thornton, who threatened to represent their misconduct to General Washington.

Notwithstanding the great losses sustained by many in the time of the war, we are told that only one instance of failure occurred amongst those that suffered. But several persons who acted in the capacity of military collectors, and took advantage of the times in distressing their neighbours unnecessarily, became extremely poor afterwards.

The captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and his family by the Indians on the frontiers in 1780, produced much excitement in Byberry. He was born here in 1711—and this was the principal place of his residence till 1775, when he settled on Mahoning creek in Northampton county, within a few miles of Mauch Chunk. In Byberry several of his children were comfortably settled, and in this place he had many connexions and friends. These were no strangers to the doleful details of Indian cruelty; and the consideration that their near relatives and intimate friends were in all probability doomed to the utmost extremity of human suffering, involved a gloomy and pensive melancholy. After the return of the family in 1782, an account of their many sufferings and difficulties was verbally given by them, which being reduced to writing by William Walton, was published by Jos. Cruikshank in 1784.

Benjamin Gilbert was an author. He published a treatise against war, in answer to Gilbert Tennent, in 1748. He

published two other volumes in 1769 and 1770, containing about two hundred and fifty pages, duodecimo. The first, entitled "A discourse showing that there can be no salvation to that soul who doth not know a being made perfect in this life—Also a discourse on universal redemption, wherein it is proved, (by scripture and reason,) that "it is impossible." The second is—"A further discourse upon perfection and universal redemption. Also a discourse upon what is called original sin, showing where "original sin is; and a discourse upon election and reprobation, showing wherein they each stand."

We have no account of any person in Byberry holding a commission as justice of the peace till Alexander Edwards: he was a man of good understanding, and acted well in his official capacity. He was an elder of the Baptist society of Pennepac, and died in 1777. His son Doctor Enoch Edwards was designed by his father for a minister, and was accordingly placed under the tuition of Dr. Jones of Pennepac; but having little relish for the profession, he quit the study of divinity, and applied himself to medicine under the instruction of Dr. Rush. After finishing his studies he set up as a practitioner of physic in Byberry. In 1776 he was chosen a member of the famous provincial conference of committees held at Carpenter's hall, whose resolutions paved the way for the introduction of a republican form of government in Pennsylvania. He was afterwards aid to Gen. Sterling: he was accidentally taken by a party of British near Bustleton in 1777, and conducted to Philadelphia, but was soon after released on parole. After the war he was several years in the commission of the peace; in which capacity the acuteness of his judgment and the correctness of his decisions gained universal respect, and his endeavours to preserve order amongst the lower class of people made him a terror to evil doers. He was a member of the convention which

formed the constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and afterwards presiding judge of the court of Quarter sessions and Common pleas for the county of Philadelphia. In 1792 he sold his farm in Byberry and removed to Frankford. He died there in 1802, aged fifty-two years. Dr. Edwards wrote some valuable observations relating to agriculture, which were published in the American Museum. One of his charges to the grand jury was published in the same work. Both these productions show that he treated his subjects with the dexterity of a skilful master.

Giles Knight, son of Joseph Knight before mentioned, was several years a member of the provincial assembly. He was an able politician of the old school; much respected for the depth and soundness of his judgment; and for the dignified character which he sustained. He died in 1799, at the age of about eighty years.

In 1788 the Hessian fly was first noticed in the wheat at Byberry. The crop being much injured; many farmers afterwards sowed rye; and rye bread, which was little used here before that time, became customary on the tables of some that were considered wealthy. It was not long before a discovery was made that manure was one of the most effectual remedies against the fly: much pains were taken to increase the quantity of it, and it was found advantageous to sow wheat later in the season than had been customary.

Previous to this time, the chief dependence for hay was on "bottom meadows," the borders of which in some instances were rendered very productive by irrigation. About 1791, plaster of Paris was used on Indian corn and found advantageous. It was also tried on the meadows; but had little effect, except on the upland part of them. Red clover was next introduced into the fields, and the plaster was found to have an astonishing effect by increasing the quantity at least double, and in some instances fourfold. The



practice of mowing the uplands became customary—and the old meadows, excepting those that were watered, were pretty much abandoned, or used only for pasture.

The benefits derived from the increase of manure, the use of plaster, the introduction of red clover, timothy, and herd grass, together with various improved methods of farming, and the increasing demand for surplus produce, had a stimulating effect. The quality of the soil improved, wealth seemed accumulating, new houses and barns were erected, and the country assumed the appearance of rapid prosperity.

The cultivation of potatoes as an article of profit, had been little attended to previous to 1790. By manuring the ground well, and paying proper attention to the crop, 200 bushels and often more were produced to the acre. Broom corn began to be cultivated near the same time, the manufacturing of which as a business was first attempted by Benjamin Atkinson, whose success was so encouraging, that many other persons afterwards adopted the same business, and for a number of years past it is computed that fifty or sixty thousand brooms have been turned into the market from Byberry annually.

Until about the year 1791, it had for a number of years been the custom for a part of a tribe of Indians from Edgepeleck in New Jersey, to the number of twelve or fifteen, to visit Byberry every spring, where they were allowed by Thomas Walmsley to occupy one of his orchards. On their arrival they immediately employed themselves in erecting new wigwams, or repairing the old ones, and settled themselves comfortably for the summer. Their habits, although they nearly all spoke broken English, were far from those of civilized life; and they retained much of the indolence for which they are noticed, when settled on the borders of the white population in times of peace. They nevertheless occupied a part of their time in

making wooden trays, barn shovels, bowls, ladles, &c. of white poplar, and in fabricating baskets of different descriptions and sizes. The smaller ones were made with great skill and neatness, and the splits of maple or black ash, of which they were constructed, were dyed with brilliant and lasting colours—purple, red, yellow, &c. were the prevailing colours. These dyes were entirely prepared from the vegetable kingdom. Their natural taste for hunting had not been much diminished by their intercourse with the whites, and much of the time of the men was passed in roaming through the woods, fields, and about the hedges; with their guns, or bows and arrows, in search of game; the latter instrument they used with great dexterity. They were also fond of angling; but not contented with the usual sports of the field and brook, they furthermore made a most destructive and unsportsman-like attack upon the unoffending land-tortoises of the neighbourhood, which, after capture, were, without mercy, uniformly condemned to be burnt alive: their mode of cooking them being to cover them with hot coals and embers; and when sufficiently roasted, they were eaten with a small portion of salt, and were equally delicious to their unsophisticated taste, and as highly valued as a luxury by them as the terrapin is by the more refined epicure of civilized life. It is not many years since the remains of the shells of these tortoises disappeared in the orchard.

This little colony, although without recognised laws or regulations, were not without an implied leader. The eldest appeared to be the patriarch, and old Indian Caleb, as he was familiarly called, stood at the head of the little community, and exercised his influence over it with apparent mildness, but at the same time with much of that dignity, so uniformly observed in the aboriginal sons of our forests.

This company consisted of men, women, and children, and were for several seasons remarkable for their general

sobriety and inoffensive demeanour. But the last summer they quartered here, several of them were intemperate, and when intoxicated were quarrelsome with one another. They frequently cut timber without licence from the owner, under a plea which prevailed amongst them, that when the country was sold to William Penn, the Indians reserved the privilege of cutting basket stuff where they chose.

The township records relating to paupers, commence in 1753. From that time to 1810, about twenty individuals appear to have been supported chiefly at the public expense, viz.:—

A man and his wife in advanced life, nearly fifteen years.

Two old men for a short time.

One idiot from a child to the age of twenty-six.

Seven aged widows—one thirteen, and another twenty-five years—the others a short time.

Five unmarried women, most of them unfortunate characters—one of them has been on the township from 1784, another from 1797.

The annual average of poor tax has been as follows:—

From 1761 to 1779	. . . . .	\$ 123 00
1782 to 1799	. . . . .	142 25
1803 to 1809	. . . . .	164 96

Some of the children of the first settlers at Byberry, as we have already observed, had little opportunity of learning to read, write, or cipher. But it is probable that endeavours were used, as early as circumstances admitted, to support a school. A log building was erected for the purpose, near the meeting-house, and a school was generally kept in it till about 1772, when it was pulled down. The school was continued in one end of the meeting-house till 1789. At this time a stone building was erected for its accommodation. The teachers, or such of whom we have an account, were—

Richard Brockden . . . . .	1711
William Davis . . . . .	1717
John Watmore . . . . .	about 1730
Roger Bragg . . . . .	1736
Josiah Ellis . . . . .	
John Pear . . . . .	1748
Walter Moore . . . . .	1750 to 1753
Thomas Horner . . . . .	
Patrick Kelly . . . . .	
Joseph Walton . . . . .	15 years.
Isaac Carver . . . . .	1771
Benjamin Gilbert, Jun. . . . .	1772
John Pear again . . . . .	1773
Mahlon Carver . . . . .	
Thomas Marshall . . . . .	1776
Benjamin Kite . . . . .	1776 to 1784
Christopher Smith . . . . .	1784 to 1789
Watson Atkinson . . . . .	1789 to 1794
John Comly . . . . .	1794 to 1801
Thomas Walton . . . . .	1801 to 1803
John Comly again . . . . .	1803 to 1804
Ethan Comly . . . . .	1804
Benjamin Moore . . . . .	1805
Joshua Gilbert, Jun. . . . .	1806
Isaac Moore . . . . .	1807
Robert Parry . . . . .	1807 to 1811
Charles Hamton . . . . .	1811
Eber Hoopes . . . . .	1811 to 1813
Job Lippincott . . . . .	1814
Eber Hoopes again . . . . .	1815
Nathaniel Pettitt . . . . .	1815
Mardon Wilson . . . . .	1816
John Maule . . . . .	1816
John Dickenson . . . . .	1816 to 1823

Charles Atherton . . . . .	1823 to 1825
Joshua V. Buckman . . . . .	1825 to
present time . . . . .	1827

Since the year 1750, this school has been regularly continued, except one summer when re-building the school-house. Its regularity and permanency may be principally attributed to the circumstance of its having been under the care of directors appointed by Byberry preparative meeting, who devoted certain stated periods to its superintendence.

"Until the year 1794, an English education only, had been given to the scholars of Byberry school: the lower branches of mathematics, English grammar, and geography had been taught by few of the previous masters. But in 1794 John Comly took charge of the school, when the Latin and Greek languages, and the higher branches of the mathematics were taught by him. This gentleman has since been advantageously known as the author of a concise and excellent treatise on English grammar, which has in very many seminaries supplanted the more voluminous work of Murray, and has passed to the fifteenth edition.\*

About the year 1792, some young men in the neighbourhood formed an association for mutual benefit in the acquisition of useful knowledge. In their investigations and inquiries, the want of a more extensive supply of books than they possessed individually appears to have been felt. After the association closed, divers individuals, whose thirst for an increase of information was lively, exerted their influence to establish a public library, in which they succeed-

\* I am indebted to my friend William M. Walmsley for this paragraph, for one or a few pages back relating to the Indians, and some others.

ed, near the close of 1794. The principal promoters of this institution were Ezra Townsend, John Comly, Benjamin Walmsley, Asa Walmsley, James Walton, and Thomas Townsend. Especial care was taken by a conspicuous article of their constitution to guard against the introduction of works having an irreligious or immoral character: all atheistical and deistical books, all novels, plays and romances were forever excluded; and every other that had a manifest tendency to corrupt the morals of mankind, or that might be prejudicial to the Christian religion. The company at first consisted of twenty-two members; each paid four dollars, and the library was opened with sixty-three volumes, exclusive of books loaned by divers of the members. It now contains about seven hundred volumes, and the company consists of thirty-five members.

In 1797 a school-house was built in the upper part of Byberry, near Smithfield—another about the year 1800, on a lot of ground given for that purpose by Edward Duffield and Silas Walton, on the Mooreland line. In 1811 a school was established near the meeting-house, for girls, and taught by a mistress. In 1816 a school-house was erected by Friends near James Walton's. Most of these schools are regularly kept up, and reputably conducted.



AN  
**HISTORICAL ANECDOTE**  
OF  
**MR. JOHN HARRIS, SEN.**  
WHO WAS THE  
FIRST PERSON OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN

THAT

*Settled on the spot where now stands the Town of Harrisburg,  
the Seat of Government of Pennsylvania.*

BY

**SAMUEL BRECK, ESQ.**

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*Communicated at a Meeting of the Council, Feb. 21st, 1827.*





## AN HISTORICAL ANECDOTE, &c.

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**T**HERE stands to this day, near the river Susquehanna, in the borough of Harrisburg, the trunk of a mulberry tree, that flourished in full vigour, when William Penn first arrived in the Delaware. At the foot of this tree there is a grave, surrounded by a board fence. It is the sepulchre of the father of the founder of the present seat of government of Pennsylvania. He came to America soon after Penn. He was a Yorkshireman by birth, and in humble life; and it is said assisted to clear away the wood, grub the stumps, and open the streets of Philadelphia. Being an enterprising man, he soon became an active pioneer, and with the fruit of his industry commencing a trade with the Indians, penetrated by degrees to the westward, until he reached the Susquehanna, on the left bank of which river he built himself a cabin, and sat down permanently at the very spot where the town of Harrisburg now stands.

Here he deposited his merchandise, and opened a profitable commerce with his red neighbours, who were numerous about the Paxton creek, and had several villages in its vicinity, along the Susquehanna shore. Mr. Harris acquired the friendship of most of these tribes, receiving their peltry and

other objects of Indian traffic, for his ammunition and rum. This led to an active exchange of commodities, and gradually enabled him to purchase the land adjacent to his establishment, and to undertake considerable agricultural improvements.\*

The majestic Susquehanna, nearly a mile broad, flowed in front of his hut, while along its high banks nothing was to be seen but one dark mass of woods, reaching to the summit of the lofty hills that bounded the view in every direction. In the bosom of this wilderness Mr. Harris's family was located, and here was born Mr. John Harris, who, in the year 1785, laid out Harrisburg, and who was the first white child born to the west of Conewago creek.

In this state of things, it happened one day, that a number of his Indian customers, who had been drinking freely, called for an additional supply of rum. On Mr. Harris's refusing to gratify them, they dragged him from his hut, and bound him to that very mulberry tree, at the foot of which he now lies buried.

\* We learn from some of Mr. Harris's descendants, that he had, previously to his emigration, worked as a brewer in London, and that he brought with him to this country sixteen guineas, which was the whole of his property. His first purchase of land on the Susquehanna was a tract of five hundred acres from Edward Shippen, for which he paid £ 190. The deed is dated 19 Dec. 1733. Mr. Harris was the first person who introduced the use of the plough in the neighbourhood of the Susquehanna.—ED.

Here they declared they meant to burn him alive, and bade him prepare for instant death. Dry wood was gathered and fire held in readiness to kindle it; the yells of the exasperated savages echoed along the shore, while with demoniac gestures they danced around their victim. Death in its most cruel form was before him, and bereft of hope he gave himself for lost. In vain did he supplicate for mercy, and offer every thing in exchange for life; deaf to his entreaties, and determined on his destruction, they declared he should die. The fire was brought to the pile, and about being applied, when a band of friendly Indians, in numbers sufficient to rescue him, burst from the woods and set him at liberty.

These Indians were led on by a negro man named Hercules, a slave belonging to Mr. Harris, who at the first alarm ran to a neighbouring tribe to beg for succour, and now brought it to his master's relief. The deliverance was well timed. A moment's delay would have been fatal. The presence of mind, the decision, the speed of this negro alone saved the respectable Mr. Harris; and so sensible was he of the great service rendered to him by this poor slave, that he instantly emancipated him, and the descendants of the worthy Hercules now reside at Harrisburg, and enjoy their freedom so nobly won, in the bosom of the large community who occupy the ground on which the occurrence took place.

Wherever this story is related, let the virtuous African share largely in our praise and admiration.

An escape so providential was suited to make a deep and lasting impression on the mind of Mr. Harris. Pious and grateful feelings fastened on his heart. It was a signal deliverance; it was a manifest evidence of God's merciful interposition. Struck with this conviction, Mr. Harris, in order to perpetuate the memory of it among his own descendants, directed that at his death his body should be deposited at the foot of this mulberry tree; and there it lies, a memento at once of savage ebriety, domestic fidelity, and above all of the watchfulness of Him "who alone can inflict or withhold the stroke of death."

It may not be irrelevant to mention a few statistical facts illustrative of the change that has taken place, since the date of the foregoing adventure, on the spot to which the narrative refers.

Mr. John Harris, son of the subject of this communication, founded a town on his patrimonial estate, in 1785, which he called Harrisburg; and built an elegant stone mansion where the hut had stood, and about one hundred and fifty yards from the celebrated mulberry tree.

Harrisburg, now the seat of the State government of Pennsylvania, contains a population of nearly four thousand souls. It communicates with the opposite shore by a covered bridge nearly a mile long, erected by the State and individuals at an ex-

pense of 195,000 dollars. The public buildings for the accommodation of government are very splendid, and cost 252,000 dollars, and were paid for out of the State treasury.

This borough is the county town of Dauphin, and contains six churches, two of which are handsome, and were constructed by Mr. Hills, an architect of taste and science.\* There are four hundred dwelling houses, and a probability of a great increase, when the Pennsylvania canal shall be finished, for that useful work will pass through the town. The court-house is a spacious and convenient building. A theatre was erected a few years ago, but rather prematurely. The borough has considerable trade, and sustains a Bank in good reputation.

**SAMUEL BRECK,**

*Of the County of Philadelphia.*

P. S.—The foregoing narrative was submitted in substance to the inspection of Mr. Robert Harris, and declared by him to be correct.

\* Since the date of Mr. Breck's communication, a Roman Catholic and a Methodist church, both very neat buildings, have been added to the number. The former is indeed an exceedingly pretty edifice and is erected on a handsome site about midway between the State house and the river. A new front to the Presbyterian church, which was formerly destitute of architectural beauty, has greatly improved its appearance. The churches in Harrisburg are now the following, viz. Two Methodist, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran, a German Calvinist, a Roman Catholic, and an Unitarian.—Ed.

**NOTE.**—A granddaughter of Mr. John Harris relates an anecdote, which, as it exhibits the benevolence of his character we append to the preceding narrative.

When the celebrated Whitfield was passing through Pennsylvania, he remained some time in the neighbourhood of Mr. Harris's residence, and preached repeatedly to the people from the surrounding country who flocked to hear him. So great was the fascination of his eloquence, that many neglected the cultivation of their farms, and their fields were left unsown. Mr. Harris remonstrated with them, but ineffectually, and the consequences of their improvidence were likely to prove serious, since not a few at the end of the season found themselves in want. Seeing their destitute condition, Mr. Harris sent a large quantity of grain to the nearest mill, and gave directions that meal should be furnished to any of his poor neighbours who might apply for it. Thus were the families of those who had not listened to his prudent counsel, saved from distress by his liberal kindness.—**ED.**

**INSTRUCTIONS**  
GIVEN BY  
**WILLIAM PENN,**  
IN THE YEAR 1681,  
TO HIS  
**COMMISSIONERS**  
FOR  
SETTLING THE COLONY.

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*Transcribed from the Original, and presented to the Society,  
by Joshua F. Fisher, Esq. at a Stated Meeting, May 7th,  
1827.*





## INSTRUCTIONS, &c.

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*Instructions given by Mee William Penn Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania,*

TO

My Trusty and loving Friends, William Crispin John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen, my Commissioners for the settleing of the present Collony this year transported into y<sup>e</sup> said Province.

First. That so soon as it shall please Almighty God to bring you well there, you take an especiall Care of the people that shall embarque with you, that they may be accommodated w<sup>th</sup> conveniences as to Food, Lodging and safe places for their goods, Concerning w<sup>ch</sup> my Cosen William Markham my Deputy, and now on the Spott, will in a good measure be able to direct, that so none may be Injured in their healths or estate in w<sup>ch</sup> if you find the Dutch Sweeds or English of my side hard or gripeing, takeing an advantage of your Circumstances, give them to know, that they will hurt themselves thereby, for you can for a time be supply'd on the other side, w<sup>ch</sup> may Awe them to moderate prices.

2<sup>nd</sup>. That having taken w<sup>t</sup> Care you can for the Peoples good in the respects above sd let the Rivers and Creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware River, especially Upland in order to settle a great Towne, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy. That is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to Load, or unload at y<sup>e</sup> Bank or Key side, without boating and Littering of it. It would do well if the River coming into y<sup>t</sup> Creek be navigable, at least for Boats up into y<sup>e</sup> Country, and y<sup>t</sup> the Scituation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, w<sup>ch</sup> is best knowne by diging up two or three Earths, and seeing y<sup>e</sup> bottome.

3<sup>dly</sup>. Such a place being found out, for Navigation, healthy Scituation and good Soyle, for Provision, lay out ten Thousand Acres contiguous to it in the best manner you can as the bounds and extent of the Libertyes of the said Towne.

4<sup>thly</sup>. The proportion in the said Towne is to be thus, every share or five Thousand Acres shall have an hundred Acres of Land, out of y<sup>t</sup> ten Thousand Acres. If more then one be concerned in the share, as it may easily fall out: then they to agree of y<sup>e</sup> dividing y<sup>e</sup> same as they shall think fitt, still keeping to proportion as if one hundred pounds will have an hundred Acres five pounds will have five Acres.

5<sup>thly</sup>. That no more Land be surveyed or sett out, till this be first fixt, and y<sup>e</sup> people upon it.

w<sup>ch</sup> is best, both for Comfort, Safety and Traffique. In the next season the Lord willing I shall be with you, and then I shall proceede to larger Lotte: This was y<sup>e</sup> Resolution of a great part of the Purchassers at London the fifteenth day of September<sup>b</sup> 1681 and I find it generally approved.

6<sup>thly</sup>. If it should happen y<sup>t</sup> the most Convenient place for this great Towne should be already taken up in greater quantity of Land then is Consisting w<sup>th</sup> the Town Plott, and y<sup>t</sup> Land not already improved, you must use yo<sup>r</sup> utmost skill to perswade them to part w<sup>th</sup> so much as will be necessary, that so necessary and good a designe be not spoiled, that is, where they have Ten Acres by y<sup>e</sup> Water side, to abate five, and to take five more backward, and so proportionably, because y<sup>t</sup> by the Settlement of this Towne, the remaining five in two or three years time will be worth twice as much as those Ten before, yea w<sup>t</sup> they take backward for their waterside Land will in a little more time, be really more vallueable then all their Ten forward was before; urging my regard to them if they will not break this great, and good Contrivance; and in my Name promise them w<sup>t</sup> gratuity or priviledge you think fitt, as having a new graunt at their old rent; nay, halfe their quit rent abated, yea, make them as free as Purchasers, rather then disappoint my mind in this Township: though herein, be as sparing as ever you can, and urge the weak bottome of their Graunte, the D. of Yorke having

never had a graunt from the King &c Be impartially just and Courteous to all, That is both pleasing to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and wise in itselfe.

7<sup>thly</sup>. If you gain yor point in this respect, (of wch be very carefull) fall to dividing as before according to shares; then subdivide in wch observe y<sup>t</sup> you must narrower spread by the Water side, and run Backwarde more or lesse, according to the Compasse you have by the Waterside, to bring in the hundred Share for their Proportion in the said Ten Thousand Acres.

8<sup>thly</sup>. But if you cannot find Land enough by y<sup>e</sup> Water side to allow an Hundred Acres to five Thousand Acres. Get w<sup>t</sup> you can, and proportionably divide it, though it were but fifty Acres for a Share.

9<sup>thly</sup>. Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear y<sup>t</sup> any body inveigles y<sup>e</sup> Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the vallue upon you. You cannot want those y<sup>t</sup> will informe you, but to soften them to mee and the people, lett them know y<sup>t</sup> you are come to sit downe Lovingly among them. Let my Letter and Conditions w<sup>th</sup> my Purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their Tongue, that they may see, wee have their good in our eye, equall w<sup>th</sup> our owne Interest, and after reading my Letter and y<sup>e</sup> said Conditions, then present their Kings w<sup>th</sup> what I send them, and make a Friendship and League w<sup>th</sup> them according to those Con-

ditions, w<sup>h</sup> carefully observe, and get them to comply w<sup>th</sup> you; be Grave they love not to be smiled on.

10<sup>thly</sup>. From time to time in my Name and for my use buy Land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one anothers, if you be not Carefull, that so such as buy and come after these Adventurers may have Land ready but by no means sell any Land till I come, allow no old Patents, they have forfeited them by not planting according to the Law of the place and it cost mee too dear to allow such old Storyes, rather than fail offer them the Patent Charge, and where Survey'd the Survey money, but this is understood only of unplanted places only.

11<sup>thly</sup>. Let no Islands be disposed of to any Body, but all things remaine as they were in y<sup>t</sup> respect till I come.

12<sup>thly</sup>. Be sure to Settle the figure of the Towne so as y<sup>t</sup> the streets hereafter may be uniforme downe to the Water from the Country bounds, lett y<sup>e</sup> place for the Store house be on the middle of the Key, w<sup>ch</sup> will yet serve for Market and State houses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the Houses built be in a line, or upon a Line as much as may be.

13<sup>thly</sup>. Pitch upon the very middle of the Platt where the Towne or line of Houses is to be laid or run facing the Harbour and great River for the scituation of my house, and let it be not the tenth part of the Towne, as the Conditions say (viz) y<sup>t</sup>

out of every hundred Thousand Acres shall be reserved to mee Ten, But I shall be contented with less than a thirtyeth part, to witt Three Hundred Acres, whereas severall will have Two by purchasing Two Shares, y<sup>t</sup> is Ten Thousand Acres, and it may be fitting for mee to exceede a little.

14<sup>thly</sup>. The Distance of each House from the Creek or Harbor should be in my Judgt a measured quarter of a Mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter streets downewards to y<sup>e</sup> Harbor.

15<sup>th</sup>. Let every House be placed, if the Person pleases in y<sup>e</sup> middle of its platt as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side, for Gardens or Orchards or feilds, y<sup>t</sup> it may be a greene Country Towne, w<sup>ch</sup> will never be burnt, and allwayes be wholesome.

16<sup>th</sup>. I Judge y<sup>t</sup> you must be guided in yor breadth of Land by w<sup>t</sup> you can get, y<sup>t</sup> is unplanted, and will not be parted w<sup>th</sup>, but so far as I can guesse at this Distance methinks in a Citty, each share to have fifty Poles upon y<sup>e</sup> Front to y<sup>e</sup> River, and y<sup>e</sup> rest Backward will be sufficient. But perhaps you may have more, and perhaps you will not have so much space to allow, Herein follow y<sup>or</sup> Land and Scituation, being always just to proportion.

17<sup>th</sup>. Lastly—Be sure to keep the Conditions hereunto affixed, And see that no Vice or evil Conversation goe uncomplained or Punished in any,

that God be not provoked to wrath against the Country.

In witness hereof I do hereunto y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>her</sup> 81 Sett to my hand & Seal

WM PENN.



present as wittnessess

RICHARD VICKRY

THOMAS CALLOHILL

CHARLES JONES J<sup>N<sup>R</sup></sup>.

PHILIP TH LEHMANN.

RALPH WITHERS

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N. B. The orthography and corrections of the original are preserved in the above copy.





**A LIST**  
**OF THE**  
***INSTRUCTIONS, LETTERS, &c.***  
**FROM**  
**THOMAS AND RICHARD PENN.**  
**PROPRIETARIES AND GOVERNORS**  
**OF**  
**PENNSYLVANIA,**  
**TO**  
**JAMES HAMILTON, ESQ.**  
**BY**  
**JOSHUA F. FISHER, ESQ.**

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*Presented at a Stated Meeting of the Society, May 7th, 1827.*



## A LIST, &c.

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1747.

- Mar. 17. Instructions from the proprietaries to James Hamilton as Governor of Pennsylvania, (parchment.)
17. Commission from Proprietaries to James Hamilton to be Lieut. Governor, (parchment.)
- Oct. 27. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, (private business.)

1748.

- Feb. 22. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.  
—*Presented to the Society.*
- Mar. 17. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.  
—Bill in parliament regulating paper currency.
- May 12. Order in Council approving James Hamilton's appointment.
18. Commission to James Hamilton to act in proprietary affairs.
18. Instructions to James Hamilton as to proprietary affairs.
- July 28. Copy of a Bond of James Hamilton to William Anderson, one of his sureties to the proprietaries.
- Aug. 3. Agreement of the Proprietaries with James Hamilton relative to the Office of Prothonotary.
4. Minute of the Lords Justices in Council of Governor Hamilton's taking the Oaths before them.

Aug. 4. Orders and Instructions, in pursuance of several laws relative to trade and navigation, given by the Lords Justices of Great Britain to Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietaries and Governors of Pennsylvania—and instructions given by the Proprietaries to James Hamilton to observe the same.

4. Order in Council approving a draft of Instructions.

Sept. 5. Letter from Thomas Penn to James Hamilton on the subject of appointments.

Oct. 15. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1749.

Feb. 12. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

12. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton on the Duty on American Iron.

June 6. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 31. Letter from T. Penn to James Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 20. R. Penn to James Hamilton.—Of no value or interest.

Oct. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 14. Copy of the Report from the Lords of Trade on four Pennsylvania acts passed Feb. 1748.—  
1. To encourage Squirrel Shooting.—2. On Loan Office and Bills of Credit.—3. On Distribution of Intestates' Estates.—4. To Regulate Dealing in Horses.

1750.

Feb. 10. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 25. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton on the law regulating the number of passengers.—Troubles from the Germans—Mr. Kinsey—Law Courts—Offices and Fees—Town of Carlisle—Law relative to Convicts—Conrad Weiser—French and Indians—Indian Affairs—Expenses of Government—Mills and Furnaces, &c.

Apr. 24. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Private letter of no interest.

May 1. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 14. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 27. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 2. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

3. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton, accompanying a Commission to Messrs. Chew, Peters, &c. for running the Maryland line.

3. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

18. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 18. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 14. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Act for the Probate of Wills—Appointment of Officers of the Court.

Dec. 25. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Indian affairs.

1751.

Mar. 30. Letter from T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of the Prince of Wales—his favourable disposi-

tion towards Americans—character of the Assembly—Court of Chancery—Erection of a Fort—Boundaries of Maryland and Delaware—Indians.

Mar. 30. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.—Introduction of Mr. Humphreys.

July 27. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Relative to an enormous and inadmissible claim of Abm. Taylor, with two letters from Thomas Penn to Mr. Taylor.

29. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 8. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 19. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1752.

Jan. 18. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton.—Of no value.

24. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of Mr. Hopkinson—Ed. Shippen spoken of as Judge of the Admiralty—his merits—low marriage of Mr. John Penn—his visit to America.

9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 30. Instructions to James Hamilton, (parchment.)—*Presented to the Society.*

June 5. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Paper money.

10. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—Bill regulating fees.

July 13. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

- July 26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton, (dated Oct. 26.)—*Presented to the Society.*
- Aug. 16. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—About Mr. John Penn.
16. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
26. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Oct. 24. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- 1753.
- Jan. 9. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
30. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Feb. 2. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
2. Copy of Grant of £ 500 to the Academy.
- Mar. 1. R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About Mr. John Penn.
14. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Announcing the death of the infant son of the former.
17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About counterfeit half pence.
28. Thomas and Richard Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
28. Thomas and Richard Penn to J. Hamilton, (dispensing instruction.)—*Presented to the Society.*
- Apr. 2. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- June 29. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Aug. 12. Thomas Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Oct. 1. Thomas Penn and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—



Instructions not to remit the £80,000 until further orders.

Nov. 1. Thomas Penn and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1754.

Jan. 29. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Introducing and recommending Rev. Wm. Smith—Education of the Germans—Lord Baltimore—Kitzmiller's case—Death of Mr. Pelham.

May 15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Announcing the appointment of Governor Morris—Office of Prothonotary.

3. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Of no interest.

June 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—French—Settlements on the Ohio—Difference with the Assembly—Expression of satisfaction and thanks for J. H.'s conduct as Governor.

Aug. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1755.

Jan. 27. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 14. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

22. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Oath to be adminis-

tered to the Assembly—Dissolution of the Assembly—Laws for Militia—Representatives from Bucks County.

Apr. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

26. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Introducing Col. Prevost.

1757.

Jan. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About the Legislature—Reinforcements from England.

July 4. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton and Wm. Allen—about Mr Denny's conduct as Governor.

7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton—Quit Rents—Money bills—Franklin's mission to England—Conduct of the Assembly—Sentiments of the English Government—Conduct of Governor Denny—Militia Law—Indians.

1758. During this year Mr. Hamilton was in England.

1759.

June 15. Instructions proposed by T. Penn to J. Hamilton, (with regard to taxing the proprietaries' estates,) but not accepted by him.

Aug. 21. J. Hamilton to T. Penn.—*Presented to the Society.*

21. J. Hamilton to T. Penn. Queries as to the conduct to be pursued by J. H. as Lieut. Governor, in the case of taxing proprietaries' estates—as

to Provision for the War—for the Settlement of the Indians and of the Disbanded Troops.

Aug. 21. J. Hamilton's remarks on the Government of the Province and the difficulties with the Legislature, (evidently written about this time.)

31. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton, about the sale, if necessary, of lots, lands, &c.—Delaware Indians—Ancient Treaty.

Sept. 4. T. Penn to J. Hamilton, (compliments.)

8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

21. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Oct. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Opening of Parliament—Taking of Quebec—Bill for the Appointment of Judges.

1760.

Jan. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Arrival and kind reception of Governor H. in Pennsylvania—"Flags of Truce"—Prosecution of its Author—Death of Mr. Paris—succeeded by Mr. Wilmot—Removal of Mr. Ross from the Attorney Generalship of three lower Counties—cultivation of Hemp in Pennsylvania.

Feb. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Resolution of Assembly to disband the Troops—Distribution, by the Assembly, of money, without the consent of the Governor—letting of the Public Squares—Death of Richard Penn's youngest son.

Mar. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

April 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

- May 10, 24. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. Death of the former's son—Money bills—Murders of Indians—Complaints about the Assembly.
- June 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
21. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
27. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- July 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
10. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton and Messrs. Chew, Peters, Lardner, &c. appointing them Commissioners to run the Maryland line.
10. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton about the Appointment of said Commissioners.
11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton about said Commission.
- Aug. 22. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
30. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Sept. 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
20. R. Penn to J. Hamilton about the death of the former's son.
- Oct. 18. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Nov. 1. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
2. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
15. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Dec. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Board of Trade—Franklin's letter—Appointment of Agents by

the Assembly—Resignation of Mr. Peters—  
Connecticut intrusion and claim.

1761

- Jan. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Mar. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- April 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- May 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Address to the King—Obstinacy of the Assembly with regard to Garrisons, &c.—Probability of Peace.
9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Judges' Commissions—Disposition of the Assembly.
- June 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Attorney General's opinion on the Judges' Commissions—Agents of the Colony—Act laying duty on negroes.
- Aug. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Newcastle reemitting act—differences with the Assembly—Judges' Commissions—resignation of Mr. Peters—City lots—Indians—Connecticut intrusion—Maryland line.
- Oct. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Judges appointed by Governor Denny—Connecticut intruders—Indians—Conduct of S. W. Johnson agent for Indian affairs—Death of Conrad Weiser—Conduct of Israel Pemberton—of Gen. Amherst of Assembly—Lots at the north end of the Town—Copy of Gen. Abercrombie's return of the number of men raised by the Colonies in 1758. Surveyors of Maryland line.
- Dec. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
18. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Connecticut Settlement.

1762.

- Jan. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Feb. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Mar. 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Apr. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
25. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- May 22. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Henry Montour's Claims—Disposal of Property in the neighbourhood of the City and Towns.
26. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Henry Montour's claims of land under Indian grants.
- June 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- July 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Aug. 14. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Sept. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Oct. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
- Nov. 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*
13. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Instructions about allowing of titles of lands to persons claiming under a first purchase.
27. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1763.

Jan. 7. T. and R. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

29. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Feb. 12. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Mar. } 11. { T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the So-*  
or Feb. } { *ciety.*

Apr. 23. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

May 20. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 4. T. Penn. to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

18. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

July 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Aug. 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

31. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Sept. 1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Introducing Messrs. Mason and Dixon, Lord Baltimore's Commissioners for running the line.*

3. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Acknowledging the latter's faithful and honourable discharge of his duties as Lieut. Governor.*

Nov. 11. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Dec. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1764.

Mar. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

June 13. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

Nov. 24. T. Penn to J. Hamilton. }  
1765.

Jan. 16. R. Penn to J. Hamilton.

Feb. 7. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.

July 10. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.

1766.

Jan. 6. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.

17. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—About the taxing of the Colonies—Lord Chatham's great speech, &c.

About this time Mr. Hamilton was in England and these letters are merely complimentary and of no value or interest.

1767.

July 30. J. Hamilton to R. Penn—family matters.

Aug. 8. T. Penn to J. Hamilton—about Mr. Barton.

1768.

Jan. 9. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1769.

Feb. 4. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1770.

Mar. 5. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—*Presented to the Society.*

1771.

Nov. 1. T. Penn to J. Hamilton.—Death of his brother Richard Penn—Expressions of satisfaction and esteem—Connecticut Intrusion.



The preceding list accompanies the hundred and two letters, &c. noticed as presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and comprising nearly the whole of the interesting correspondence in my possession. I have fully stated the subjects of those which I have retained—although there are hardly six of them of the least possible interest or importance. Such as they are, they are open with the remainder of my collection to any member of the Society.

JOSHUA F. FISHER.

*May 7th.*

NOTE.—The Historical Society are indebted to Mr. Fisher not only for the liberal donation mentioned above, but also for the care and pains he has bestowed, in arranging and endorsing the papers presented, and in preparing the Index. It is moreover due to this young gentleman to state, that the whole collection of documents enumerated in the list was rescued by him from the fate that has befallen many interesting historical manuscripts, which having come into the possession of persons ignorant of their value, have been committed to the flames, or otherwise destroyed.—*Ed.*

**LETTERS**  
**OF**  
**WILLIAM PENN**  
**TO**  
**KING CHARLES II.**

**AND TO THE**  
**EARL OF SUNDERLAND,**

**FROM**  
***AUTHENTICATED COPIES OBTAINED IN LONDON,***

**BY**  
**JOHN R. COATES, ESQ.**

*And presented by him to the Society, at a Meeting of the  
Council, March 21st, 1827.*



## LETTERS, &c.

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At the request of John Reynell Coates, Esq. I hereby certify and declare, that the within written copy of a letter from William Penn, Esq. to his Majesty, was actually made from the original deposited in my hands at the time; and that having seen many original letters from the said William Penn, I am well acquainted with his handwriting

P. A. HAMOTT.

*Lincoln's Inn, 17th Nov. 1826.*

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### GREAT AND GRACIOUS PRINCE

It is a barren Soyle that yeilds noe returns to the dew that feeds it, and they are mean and ungrateful Mindes that are oblivious of the favours they receive. I would fain excuse this freedom, if I were not bound to use it, for being destitute of better ways, Gratitude makes it necessary to me, and necessity is a Sollicitor that takes no deniall. Lett the King then Graciously please, to accept my most humble thanks for his many Royall favours, conferr'd upon me, more especially this of Pennsylvania, I only lament my selfe, that my own Inability will not suffer me to express my selfe, in a way suitable to the sense I have of the great obli-

gations I lye under. But because the Alter was not ordain'd for the Rich & Great only, and that Offerings are to be accepted by the heart that makes them, I perswade myselfe to hope that the King will please to receive my dutifull Acknowledgements by the integrety that humbly sends them, And to beleave, that among the numerous subjects, as well of his Goodness as of his powr, there is none that with more truth, zeal & affection loves and honours him.

Give me leave next, to say, so soon as I was arriv'd and made any settlement of this Province, I thought it my duty to waite upon the King by some Person of the Province, In Condition of an Agent extreordinary, which is the Bearer my kinsman, Markham (formerly deputy in this Government) and tho this would not look wholly free of vanity, (Considering my late private Capacity) yet I take it to be the duty of those Persons whom the Goodness of the Kings of England hath at any time cloathed with extreordinary Powrs in these Parts of the world, to show their deferrance, to the Imperiall Majesty they are tributarys to, and their dependence upon it, by the Mission and Attendance of Agents in their Names at the Court.

I have only now, Great Prince, to pray pardon and acceptance for a poor Presant, of Country produce, and that it would graciously please the King to take me still into his favour, his young Province into his Protection; and God, the Bountefull Rewarder of good and gracious Acts, Retaliate them

both with temporall and Eternall Glory. I am  
with Reverence and truth

Great and Gracious Prince

Thy most thankfull, humble  
and obedient Subject and  
Servant in all I can

WM. PENN.

*Philadelphia*

13<sup>th</sup> Aug. 83.

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At the request of John Reynell Coates, Esq. I hereby certify and declare that the within written copy of a letter from William Penn, Esq. to the Earl of Sunderland, was actually made from the original letter deposited in my hands at the time; and that having seen many original letters from the said William Penn, I am well acquainted with his handwriting.

P. A. HAMOTT.

*Lincoln's Inn, 17th Nov. 1826.*

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*Philadelphia*

28<sup>th</sup> 3<sup>mo</sup>\* July 1683

MY NOBLE FREIND

It is an unhappiness incident to great men, to be troubl'd with the respects of y<sup>e</sup> small folks their kindness obleidges—however, I had rather need

\* Or 5mo.

an excuse then be wanting of gratitude to my noble Benefactors, of w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord Sunderland was one of the first, in y<sup>e</sup> business of my American Country; & tho I have nothing to returne, but humble thanks & good wishes for all his generous favours, yet they have engaged me in a most firm resolution to embrace all occasions by w<sup>ch</sup> I may express my sense of them & gratitude to him. And being thus obleidg'd to interest myselfe in his success and prosperity, I must take leave to Congratulate the happy restoration of the King's grace & favour, in w<sup>ch</sup> without flattery I take the freedom to say I think he has done right to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Sunderlands abilitys & his own business; for ever since he yeilded me the advantage of his acquaintance in France (a Time of twenty years Standing, or running rather) I have said, many times, to many people, I remember not to have mett a young Nobleman, promessing a sharper & clearer Judgem<sup>t</sup> & of closer & better sense, and pardon me if I wish that this occasion may give thee time to prove it yet more abundantly to the world.

I was a little elevated w<sup>th</sup> the hopes of a free discours & censure upon my American enterprize, when it pleas'd thee to give me to beleive I might meet thee some evening at Col: Henry Sidneys; but some greater Affaire diverting rob'd me of the advantage I had reason to promess my selfe from so correct a Conversation. But the I mist that expression of thy favour, lett me not want the effects of it: I am now in a station, where my own weakness or

my Neighbours envy may happen to hurt my honest interest, & the good work I have in my eye: please to take me & my poor feeble Concerns into thy Protection, & give us thy smiles & Countenance, and I will venture to say; y<sup>t</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> help of God & such noble Freinds I will show a province in 7 years equall to her Neighbours of 40 years planting.

I have lay'd out the Province into Countys, Six are begun to be seated, they lye on y<sup>e</sup> Great River, & are planted about 6 miles back. the Town platt is a mile long & two deep—has a Navigable River on each side, y<sup>e</sup> least as broad as y<sup>e</sup> Thames at Woolwych, from 3 to 8 fathom water. there is built about 80 houses, & I have settled at least three hundred farmes Contiguous to it. We have had w<sup>th</sup> passengers 28 Ships, & tradeing 40 great & small since the last Summer. not amiss for one year. the Country is in Soyle good, aire sereen (as in Languedock) & sweet from the Cedar, Pine & Sarsenfrax, w<sup>th</sup> a wild mertile y<sup>t</sup> all send forth a most fragrant smell, w<sup>ch</sup> every breez carrys w<sup>th</sup> it to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants where it goes. Cyprus, chesnutt, Cedar, Black walnutt, & poppler (y<sup>e</sup> largest in y<sup>e</sup> world) Oake of six sorts, white, Red, black, Spanish Chesnutt and Swampe, are the timber of these parts, ash there is also, but not so frequently here is a hickory nut tree, mighty large, and more tough then our ash, y<sup>e</sup> finest white & flameing fire I have ever seen.

I have had better venison, bigger, more tender, & as fatt as in England. Turkeys of the wood, I



had of 40 & 50 pound weight. Fish in abundance. especially of Shad and Rock, w<sup>ch</sup> are here an excellent Fish. pearch & trout, but no Salmon here-aways yet as I hear of, but oysters, y<sup>t</sup> are monstrous for higness, tho there be a lesser sort. here are of Fruits, divers wild, the Peach, Grape, & plum, & y<sup>t</sup> of divers sorts. We have also in y<sup>e</sup> woods, flowers, y<sup>t</sup> for Colour, largeness & beuty excell, I intend a Collection of y<sup>e</sup> most vallauble of w<sup>t</sup> this place affords for Arstrophe y<sup>e</sup> next Season. For the people; they are Savage to us, in their Persons, & furniture; all y<sup>t</sup> is rude; but they have great shape, strength, agility; & in Councel (for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves) observe property & Governmt) grave, speak seldom, inter spaces of silence, short, elegant, fervent, the old sitt in a halfmoon upon the Ground, the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them, & the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged, they having Consulted the rest before; thus in selling me their land they order'd themselves; I must say, y<sup>t</sup> their obscurity consider'd, wanting tradition, example & instruction, they are an extreordinary people, had not the Dutch Sweeds and English learn'd them drunkenness (in w<sup>ch</sup> condition, they kill or burn one another) they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, y<sup>t</sup> for 6 penny worth of Rum, one may buy y<sup>t</sup> fur from them, y<sup>t</sup> five shillings, in any other Commodity shall not purchase. Yet many of the old men, & some of y<sup>e</sup> young

people will not touch w<sup>th</sup> such spirits; & Because in those fits they mischeif both themselves & our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any.

Pardon my Noble Freind this length (longer too in my scrawling hand then in it selfe) I thought it my duty to give an account of y<sup>e</sup> Place to one whos favour had helpt to make it myn, & who was pleas'd more then once to discourse the settlement of it.

I have only to recommend the Bearer my Kinsman, Capt Markham, & to pray access in my affaires, yet not fully fixt, by y<sup>e</sup> unkindness of my Neighbour, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Baltimore, & y<sup>t</sup> it would please thee to accept a poor present, of our growth, remembering, y<sup>t</sup> the Ancients vallued offerings by y<sup>e</sup> heart y<sup>t</sup> made them; & finally to give me leave to ware the character of

My Noble Freind

Thy very sensible and faithfull

Frd. & Serv<sup>t</sup>. to my powr

WM. PENN.

May I present my humble  
duty to the King?

For the EARLE of SUNDERLAND.













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